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The Shape of Things

WE MUST BE ON GUARD AGAINST SEEING THE Allied successes in Italy in the wrong prospective. With the eastern front momentarily quiescent, with the tale of mounting fury in the western air war as monotonous as it is impressive, the battle for Rome tends to loom larger in the headlines than it will in the history books. Even though the Italian campaign has a definite part in this summer's combined United Nations offensive, it is in a supporting rather than a major role. But while we must not attach undue importance to the effects of the three weeks' offensive, at least until its place in the grand design is clearer, we can view the successes gained so far as a hopeful augury. A skilful and stubborn enemy has been driven from two naturally strong lines, and his flank has been turned by the well-timed exploitation of the Anzio beach-head position. As a result the Germans have been deprived of one of their two main lines of communications, while the second—the Via Cassilina—is under fire and likely to be out before this comment is read. If this occurs, Marshal von Kesselring's command will be shattered and what remains south of Rome will only be able to escape by infiltration across the rugged Appenine chain to the Adriatic. The destruction of a small but troublesome German army is in sight, and a rapid Allied advance to the Po line is not too much to hope for; this will bring our forces some 200 miles nearer to Berlin and still closer to southern France.

*

BULGARIA IS A SENSITIVE SPOT FOR THE Germans; they remember bitterly that it was the first of the Central European powers to break in 1918. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should have reacted energetically to counter Allied, and particularly Russian, pressure on the Bulgars to get out of the war before it is too late. Turkish reports of a Moscow ultimatum calling on the Bulgarian government to break with the Germans or face war with Russia have not been confirmed, but the Soviet press and radio have been issuing strong warnings of the ruinous consequences which continuance in the Nazi camp will entail. Meanwhile the country is in the throes of a prolonged Cabinet crisis following the ousting of Premier Dobri Boshilov, who is said to have been carrying on secret negotiations with

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Moscow; and the Germans are reported to have reinforced their garrisons in Bulgaria and to have occupied all key positions on the Black Sea coast. In a very confused situation one thing seems tolerably clear: the Bulgarians would be happy to abandon the Axis, and even to lend a hand in expelling the Germans, if they could be sure of retaining their loot, particularly Thrace and Macedonia. But, it is said, Moscow has sternly rejected a bargain along these lines, holding that the disposition of these territories is a matter for the United Nations after the war. So the Bulgars are being forced to choose between fighting Russia and losing the fruits of their German alliance. Both alternatives are unpopular, but if there could be a free choice it is probable that the majority would decide to risk a break with Germany. From the Allied point of view, the crisis is helpful, whatever its outcome, for it preoccupies German forces which Hitler could profitably use elsewhere.

*

THE TEXAS OF DIES, GARNER, AND O'DANIEL has taken action tantamount to bolting the Democratic Party while seeking to retain all of the symbols and prestige of that party. Under the leadership of the O'Daniel forces, including members of such groups as the Christian American Front and the Southern Anti-Labor Crusade, the state convention voted not to support the Democratic Party nominees for President and Vice-President unless the National Convention restores the two-thirds majority nomination rule, comes out in opposition to the recent Supreme Court decision voiding the white primary, and expresses disapproval of efforts to eliminate racial discrimination in the schools. Supporters of the Administration, under the leadership of Jesse Jones and House Leader Sam Rayburn, bolted the convention and held a rump session of their own at which a slate of delegates favorable to President Roosevelt was chosen. The spectacle of a state holding two conventions and naming rival slates to the National Convention is not an uncommon one. Election rules are so lax in many states that nearly every national party convention is faced with the necessity of deciding between rival delegations from one or more states. In this instance, however, there seems little doubt that the anti-New Deal clique controls the party machinery and is in a position to make it difficult for the President to be entered in the Texas election on the Democratic ticket. We suspect, however, that regardless of party labels, the people of Texas will vote overwhelmingly for Mr. Roosevelt in November.

*

REPRESENTATIVE RANKIN, NOT SATISFIED with having prevented most soldiers from casting their votes this fall, seems determined to gain the further distinction of denying the soldiers their just reward upon demobilization. The GI Bill of Rights, as passed by the House after Rankin had personally blue-penciled many of its provisions, has been well described by Senator Wagner as so discriminatory that "it reads like a bill to deny veterans unemployment benefits." By making unemployment benefits dependent on the length of the veteran's service, some veterans will find themselves entitled to as little as nine weeks' benefits, or much less than if they were unemployed industrial workers. In a crude effort to discourage veterans from joining unions a provision would deny benefits entirely to veterans who are members of a union "which is interested in or participating in a strike." Faced by a Senate demand that some modification be made in these absurd and tight-fisted restrictions, Rankin has followed the tactics he used with such devastating success in the soldier-vote bill and refused to budge. Thus one little man, who has fought this war in the committee rooms of Congress, may yet succeed not only in denying the millions of men who risk their lives on the battlefield the right to vote but the protection which a grateful country is anxious to give them.

*

THE EXCELLENT WAR RECORD OF AMERICAN labor has been marred too often by wildcat strikes, the irresponsibility of local union factions. The strong and courageous statement of R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers, places such action in its proper setting. Reminding union members of the terrible cost of victory, he insisted that they see to it that "the acts of isolated handfuls are not permitted to continue, to the detriment of us all. . . . Our union cannot survive if the nation and our soldiers believe that we are obstructing the war effort." Government agencies may be slow, management may be recalcitrant, but the unions must keep their record clean. The streak of anarchism in the American labor movement has left it open to attack: Mr. Thomas correctly emphasizes the fact that labor's influence and standing depend upon the unqualified fulfilment of its pledges.

*

A SENATE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE HAS issued a sweeping indictment of every government agency involved in the Montgomery Ward seizure, but the worth of its findings is totally invalidated by the Dies-like methods to which it resorted. According to Senator McFarland, a member of the subcommittee who refused to sign the report, no opportunity was afforded for interested parties to give evidence, and the report was based solely on documentary evidence, which might not be complete, and the "conclusions of investigators whose testimony is necessarily hearsay and second or third hand." Fortunately the House committee studying the same case is proceeding with less regard for politics. Although many of its members seem to have made up their minds in advance, it is at least holding open hearings

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in which the facts are being put on record. Thus Chairman William H. Davis of the WLB was able to point out that the contention that Wards should be exempted from WLB jurisdiction because not primarily engaged in war work would have applied equally to 15,500,000 workers in the distribution, transportation, and service trades. Again, Gerald Reilly of the National Labor Relations Board was able to set forth Sewell Avery's long history of unfair labor practices. If the committee uses these facts in its cross-examination, Mr. Avery's appearance as a witness may be less of a triumph than his publicity men expect.

*

GERALD L. K. SMITH HELD A PRESS CONFERence at a New York hotel last week. The old rabble-rouser was smooth, smiling, poised, and grammatical. Obviously one does not put on the same act for a small gathering of metropolitan newspapermen that one stages for a rally of America Firsters. The only crude thing about the gentleman was his ideas. He and Bob Reynolds are going to tour the country this summer working for the reelection of men like Wheeler, Hoffman, Vandenberg, and Fish; and if the Republicans don't nominate an avowed isolationist for President, Smith intends to run himself as the candidate of the America First Party. He is somewhat upset by Dewey's vague "internationalism." Somebody asked, "If you and Dewey and Roosevelt all run for President, who will be elected?" He pondered for a moment and then said, "It will be between Roosevelt and myself. An internationalist Republican won't have a chance." That was the only time he seemed ill at ease. He laughed shyly, as if he didn't quite believe what he was saying. We wonder what he tells himself when he's alone.

*

ALL HOPE THAT THE SEDITION TRIAL MIGHT be brought under control by a few stiff fines for contempt of court has vanished in the face of the new filibustering technique developed by the defendants. The government's case is a complex one involving the submission of many hundreds of documents and the calling of scores of witnesses. Under the law each of the twenty-nine defendants may demand the right to read each document before it is submitted as evidence and each has the right to cross-examine every witness. By exercising these traditional rights to the fullest, the defendants would seem to have the power to prolong the trial indefinitely, thus making a farce of democratic justice. It will be noted that the courtroom tactics employed by the defendants closely parallel those used by the Nazis in their bid for national and international power. Like the Nazis, the defendants are bound by no rules of civilized conduct; they violate all canons of taste and decency in order to keep themselves in the public eye; they use the law as a shield when it benefits them, and ride rough-shod over it when it limits their activities; they are contemptuous of all principles of morality as evidence of democratic weakness, yet they are constantly appealing to these same principles to save their skins. The Nazis went far with these tactics but ultimately the "weak" democracies were goaded into meeting fire with fire. If the defendants in the sedition trial continue to make a travesty of the traditional courtroom procedures, they, too, may find that democratic patience is not unlimited.

*

IN THE TWENTY-FIVE YEARS SINCE IT WAS founded in an era of academic heresy-hunting, the New School for Social Research has created a remarkable place for itself in the whole field of American scholarship. Its purpose, in the words of Alvin Johnson, its director since 1923, has been to provide "a liberal education for mature men and women." And its dominant principle—to quote Dr. Johnson again—has been freedom: "freedom of opinion, of teaching, of research, of publication." Dictation to teachers has been barred: "every teacher in the school is under the obligation to follow the truth wherever it may lead." It was only natural that an educational institution with these beliefs should lend a hand to the persecuted scholars of Hitler's Europe; only natural that under the leadership of Dr. Johnson, whose idealism is infused with a strong dose of practical sense, it should have seized the opportunity to make use of the wealth of learning which the Nazis had so recklessly discarded. In 1933 a permanent Graduate Faculty, often referred to as the University in Exile, was added to the school and manned by scholars from central Europe. When France fell, French and Belgian professors were made welcome and helped to start the Ecole Libre, which functions as a French university. The latest addition to the graduate work of the school is an Institute of World Affairs, in which American and foreign experts can cooperate in an extensive and systematic study of international problems. Thus in many different ways the school is contributing to American life and learning. And when the war is over it sees new work to be done providing returned soldiers, too mature for conventional academic programs, with a chance to complete a liberal education.

*

EVERY *NATION* READER WILL APPRECIATE the importance of the political problem set forth by J. Alvarez del Vayo in his article, No Unity with Fascists, published in this issue. The question of how far democratic elements, in their undeniable duty to support the war effort, can go in aligning themselves with the right has become particularly acute since Mr. Churchill's address to the House of Commons. We believe that the question must be widely discussed, and consequently we have asked for the opinions of representative political and labor leaders. They will be printed as we receive them.

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Churchill's Blunderbuss

ONE clue to Mr. Churchill's speech in the House of Commons last week—a speech as puzzling as it was shocking—may be found in his remark: "As this war has progressed, it has become less ideological in its character in my opinion." If we may be blunt, the Prime Minister's opinion in this matter is worth very little, for he has never grasped the ideas that are at stake in the conflict. As Harold Laski has written, in an article which deserves rereading in the light of this speech: "The war he [Mr. Churchill] is waging is not the war history has staged. . . . The immense social forces that have gone to make this war are as outside his consciousness as the principles of the Russian Revolution are outside his understanding." *

Mr. Churchill, indeed, has never understood that Nazism was part of a counter-revolution, transcending the boundaries of Germany, designed to crush government for the people. He could only see the secondary effect—a new attempt to impose German hegemony over Europe and eventually the world. Against that danger he warned his countrymen with all his eloquence. Yet at the same time, since it offered no immediate menace to Britain, he was able to view the fascism of Mussolini and Franco with a large amount of tolerance. He did not realize that these dictatorships were part of a world-wide conspiracy against democracy.

In Churchill's finest hour, when Britain's back was against the wall, when the struggle was one for sheer survival, there would, perhaps, have been some excuse for neglecting ideologies. But now that we are looking forward to framing the peace it is essential that we should learn to recognize the roots of fascism. For if we do not destroy the weed everywhere, if we do not inoculate the political soil against it, we shall find it springing up again to strangle the flowers of peace.

Weeds, unfortunately, seem beneath Mr. Churchill's notice. In his political horticulture he harks back to the formal landscapes of the eighteenth century, and his design for peace is one which Metternich would not disown. He visualizes a world organization controlled by three or four great powers on whom would fall the task of maintaining a stable order. Twice in his speech he referred to the Anglo-Soviet treaty as a cornerstone of British policy, but he appears to regard it primarily as a mutual agreement not to step on each other's toes. He is prepared to let Stalin have the final word in Eastern Europe, but he seems to regard Western Europe and the Mediterranean as a British sphere of influence.

His plans for this sphere, insofar as he has outlined them, take little account of the popular movements that are so manifest in Nazi-held Europe. Italy, truly, is promised an eventual opportunity to choose any system other than fascism. Meanwhile, Mr. Churchill supports the monarchy and, clearly, hopes to see it survive. For, in general, he clings to constituted authority, however tainted. Even so, it is difficult to understand why, after scolding Turkey for refusing to come into the war on our side, he should positively hug Franco for being so good as not to fight us actively.

Declaring he was "here today to speak kindly words about Spain," Mr. Churchill told the Commons that Spain's internal affairs were solely a matter for the Spaniards. Admitting that the Franco government had been a trifle unneutral on occasion (there was no mention of the Blue Division sent to fight in Russia), he suggested it had made amends by not interfering with our concentration of planes and ships at Gibraltar prior to the North African invasion. The attitude of the Spanish government in the face of this huge display of strength seems to us proof of caution rather than benevolence.

No one in Britain has yet been able to find an adequate explanation for Mr. Churchill's fulsome and uncalled-for eulogy of Franco's Spain. But one result is clear: it has provided some much-needed underpinning for the Spanish dictator, whose throne was beginning to rock as its Nazi foundations crumbled. It has also clarified the State Department's hint that the recent agreement with Spain was softened in deference to British wishes. In appeasing Franco London has taken the lead.

Presumably one bad policy deserves another. When he turned to France, Mr. Churchill obviously spoke from a Washington brief, although making interpolations of his own designed to diminish French anger. The result was that this section of his speech gave a curious effect of blowing hot and cold. He began by paying a tribute to the military and material contributions of the French under the National Committee of Liberation, which he described as "a political entity" providing and directing forces which "give it fourth place in the Grand Alliance." But, he went on, we cannot recognize it even as a provisional government "because we are not sure it represents the French nation." The committee will, he agreed, exercise leadership in the liberated areas, *but* "we do not wish to commit ourselves at this stage to imposing a government on any part of France."

Mr. Churchill's speeches have been among the most potent weapons of the war. But this one was a blunderbuss fired into his own lines, and it has shaken democratic morale. British liberal and labor forces are outraged, particularly by the reference to Spain, and Edward Murrow of C. B. S. reports that for the first time since 1940 national unity has been impaired. The sight of one of the chief architects of victory undermining the foundations of peace is truly a melancholy one. But we still have faith that the forces and ideas to which Mr. Churchill is blind and deaf will, in the end, prove too strong for him to resist.

* *The Nation*, December 18, 1943.

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Parties on the Left

THE formation of the new Liberal Party provides the occasion for a quick survey of the political labor scene.

In New York State the two factions of the old American Labor Party are now in separate establishments. When they were lodged under one roof, their internecine squabbling occupied so much of their energy that their impact on the total political situation grew steadily less. Now it is possible that, apart from the occasional interchange of pleasantries across the party line, they will get about their own business. Oddly enough, that looks to us to be pretty much the same sort of business, to wit, the reelection of Mr. Roosevelt and the return of a liberal slate of Congressmen next November.

We had hoped that after the left-wing victory in the primaries the sectarian scrap would end and that those who could accept the new leadership would carry on inside the American Labor Party and the others vote for the same candidates on the Democratic ticket. We opposed the launching of a new party as untimely and useless. But now that the Liberal Party has been formed, with what appears to be an excellent political program, we believe that it should be given a fair chance. Its realistic program avoids over-friendly gestures in the direction of the free-enterprise boys, steers a straight pro-democratic course in foreign policy, and is pleasantly free from the taint of high-purposed expediency. The new party, therefore, may prove a rallying point for many who in the past have not been drawn into labor politics but have been waiting for the sounding of a new political note in keeping with the gigantic post-war tasks ahead. If the Liberal Party appears today simply as an auxiliary of the Democratic Party, and in that respect in a position similar to the A. L. P. and the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, its independent role may well be established after the November decision.

Two things are to be hoped for. First, that the former members of the A. L. P. who are now active in the Liberal Party will call off their sniping at their erstwhile buddies who now control the A. L. P. And that goes for the A. L. P. as well. If both do their jobs in working for the election of Roosevelt, Wallace, and liberal Congressmen, there won't be much time left for name-calling. Second, just as in an earlier editorial we regretted that the C. I. O. Political Action Committee had become involved in the A. L. P. fight, so now we say that it would be deplorable if the new Liberal Party did anything to embarrass the Political Action Committee in the national field. After all, the objectives of both the A. L. P. and the Liberal Party in New York State correspond to the objectives of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee in the country as a whole. These three groups, once they get over their backward-looking grudges, should regard one another not as foes but as allies. The job ahead is too important to have any other thought in mind.

Nationally, it would appear that the C. I. O. Political Action Committee is going to be even more effective than was at first supposed. For the first time an important section of American labor has seen itself as having a positive political role. Already its enemies as well as its friends are claiming that it has exercised a measurable influence in some of the early primaries. Its significance will become even more evident as the campaign develops. The danger is that after November American labor will sink back once more into its chronic slumber. But that is not inevitable. History is cutting new grooves these days. Experience in the depression and the war years is perhaps convincing American labor that it has an independent political responsibility. We should like to see a Political Action Committee formed among the farmers of the Midwest. In fact, if the social and economic gains the farmers have enjoyed under the New Deal are to be conserved and built upon, there should be such a committee in the field right now. Perhaps the Farmers' Union might provide the nucleus.

If we view the picture broadly, there are many signs that the old parties are breaking up and have long since ceased to represent any basic political differences. The emergence of political movements of dynamic proportions among organized labor, urban middle-class liberals, and farmers points in the direction of a new political alignment. The similarity of the economic and political objectives of these groups suggests that in some not too remote future they may become the basis of a great national party. This new party on the left will be directed at the realization of a socially planned economy and pledged to the maintenance of an international order that will guarantee world peace. That such a speculation is not mere wishful thinking is proved by the remarkable growth of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Canada. Twelve years ago there were struggling regional labor and farmer groups scattered across the country. Today the C. C. F., organized as a unified people's movement, stands in a position to challenge the government in power. Making full allowance for electoral and constitutional differences, there is no reason why such a party should not develop here. In fact, unless either or both of the old parties shake themselves clear of outworn ways of political thinking, the future security and prosperity of this country may well depend upon the emergence of such a party.

This is looking far ahead. Meanwhile, the fight is on and we can only hope that the battalions already in the field and carrying the same flag will not waste their limited forces in guerrilla warfare among themselves but will direct their fire at the enemy.

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A Catholic Looks at the Dies Committee

BY I. F. STONE

II

Washington, May 26

BROTHER AUGUST RAYMOND OGDEN notes that when the Dies committee was first established in 1938 "most assumed that the emphasis would be placed on Nazi activities." This assumption may explain the coolness at first shown toward the Dies committee by Father Charles E. Coughlin's *Social Justice*. Though written and accepted as a doctor's thesis by the Catholic University of America and published with the permission of Brother August Raymond's Provincial, the Ogden book on the Dies committee frankly reports at least the basic facts on the attitude of the Catholic press toward Dies. In its issue of June 20, 1938, a few weeks after the establishment of the Dies committee, *Social Justice* "noted that Dies's particular peeve was the Nazis." This was a misapprehension on Father Coughlin's part and it was soon corrected. Brother August Raymond reports that by August of that year "a decided change can be noted in the columns of *Social Justice*." * It carried very little about the committee at first, but in the issue of August 29 *Social Justice* "declared that the nation was at last getting a knowledge of what was going on, although it did not think that Congress would do anything to follow up the disclosures." Father Coughlin soon became a warm convert, and in *Social Justice* of September 5 Brother August Raymond reports, "We find Dies glorified as the 'Man of the Week' worthy of the applause of every 'honest, America-loving, red-hating United States citizen.'" By October "a large part of the Catholic press came out for the committee, although there were exceptions to the prevailing trend." One exception was the *Commonweal*, which "blamed the committee for the 'ineffectual and barbarous' way in which it encouraged the country to solve the Communist question." The other was the *New World*, organ of the Chicago archdiocese, which "also protested against the methods and procedure of the committee."

It was as a foe of the Nazis that Dies first hit the front pages, though the denouement of his debut as an anti-Nazi was both ludicrous and significant. Dies informed reporters on August 3, 1938, that George Sylvester Viereck, "publicist and admitted propagandist for Nazi interests" (the words are those of Dies), had been served with a subpoena by the committee after it had been informed that he was going to visit Hitler. A sham battle ensued between Dies and Viereck. Viereck sent Dies a telegram saying that he was going abroad to visit leading personages, including the Kaiser, and was willing to appear before the committee on his return. Dies declared that Viereck could be barred from returning to the country if he refused to heed the subpoena. Viereck denied that he was an alien, and said that he could not be prevented from returning. Dies thereupon "denied that he had wanted to inconvenience anyone" and said he had issued the subpoena only to save time, since Viereck had said that he would not be back until October, "which would be too late for the committee." The affair provided Dies with a good deal of publicity, but "Viereck never appeared before the committee in 1938 and was allowed to depart a short time later. He sailed on the night of August 12, saying that he would not regret the inconvenience if the committee 'succeeded in uprooting the myriad subversive activities . . . which threaten the peace and security of our country.'" This was the first of many tributes to Dies from Nazi and fascist sources.

Brother August Raymond has uncovered an early Dies bill which should have provided a clue at the time to the Texan's real interest. In 1935, three years before the Dies committee was set up, he introduced a resolution providing for a special committee to investigate the possibility of the shackling of the press by the Administration. "Nothing ever came of it," Brother August Raymond reports, "but it did, perhaps, indicate a trend." The trend was soon visible. J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, the ranking Republican member of the committee, first struck what was to become one of the dominant themes of the Dies inquiry. In July, 1938, he declared the Federal Theater Project was not only "serving as a branch of the Communistic organization but is also one more link in the vast and unparalleled New Deal propaganda machine." And in a radio speech on October 14 of that year Thomas cited evidence before the Dies committee as proof of the links between the New Deal and communism. "The plan," Thomas declared, "is to sabotage the capitalistic system by placing upon that system burdens of restrictive legislation and staggering taxation." In the 1938 elections the Dies committee first showed that it was out to "get" the New Deal.

"At the outset of the hearings," Brother August Raymond reports, "Dies had reiterated his desire to get the data on communism and to avoid any political or labor dispute." The statement was made in October, 1938, and Dies at once proceeded to use the committee to smear three progressive gubernatorial candidates in the pending elections—Benson in Minnesota, Murphy in Michigan,

* The Chicago *Tribune* was likewise "lukewarm at the beginning" but "became one of the most ardent supporters of the committee."

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and Olson in California. The tactics used against Murphy were typical. On October 20, 21, and 22 the committee heard witnesses who linked Murphy with Communists and the sitdown strikes, and at the end of the last day of hearings "Dies casually dismissed telegrams denying the charges by saying that 'those telegrams are available to any member of the press who wants them.' " On this occasion the President attacked the Dies committee for "a flagrantly unfair and un-American attempt to influence an election" and for making "no effort to get at the truth, either by calling for facts or by allowing facts and personal opinion on the other side." But the Administration's losses in the 1938 elections strengthened Dies, and the President never again attacked the Texan so openly or so vigorously.

In these first hearings there appeared another characteristic of the Dies committee—the undemocratic and high-handed procedure followed by the chairman in dealing with the dissident members of the committee. Congressmen Healey and Dempsey, after the President's defense of Murphy, asked Dies to recess the hearings until after the elections, when all members could be present. Their protest had no effect. Hearings were held without consultation with the full committee, and statements were issued in its name without the knowledge of other committee members. "Somewhere between the fall of France and December 7, 1941," Brother August Raymond writes, "the committee, as far as the public record indicates, had disappeared. Its place had been taken by a one-man agency which could not properly be called administrative and yet could not be called legislative. The information gathered by the investigators was utilized by the chairman, who, to all intents and purposes, had become the committee." This irresponsible method of conducting a committee reached its climax in the apology Dies was forced to make to David Vaughn in 1942. Dies "explained the error by saying that the statement had been released while he was in Texas, but that a careful check made on his return to the Capitol convinced him that the statement was erroneous." The committee, according to Voorhis, knew nothing of the statement until members saw it in the press. Dies had become the committee, and apparently J. B. Matthews, its pet stool pigeon and chief investigator, had become Dies. Of this final stage in the committee's development and of Matthews, Brother August Raymond writes as follows:

> . . . the committee had become, more than anything else, a denunciatory agency. Dies seemed to be attempting to inaugurate a system whereby a federal employee could be dismissed without the least opportunity to defend himself. In the process of denunciation it seemed that no account was to be taken of the person's actual sentiments or actual record. The least connection with front organizations, even years ago, was considered to have worked permanent corruption for such federal employees. It would seem that change of heart was reserved exclusively for J. B. Matthews and the others who had volunteered information before the committee.

[This is the second of two articles on "The Dies Committee," a book by August Raymond Ogden, F.S.C. The first appeared last week.]

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE EVENTS OF 1864 AND 1866 have to a large extent revolutionized German modes of thinking on political matters. Principles are now recognized as good which a few years ago would have been indignantly repudiated as unworthy and revolutionary. . . . Varnhagen von Ense . . . says about Hegel: "Our ministers think they have in his philosophy one that is thoroughly *legitimistic*, suited to serve the state, and Prussian."—*June 3, 1869.*

THE CHARLESTON *COURIER*, in a voice that has an undertone of lament in it, says that of course South Carolina has always been a barbarous state, but hopes that it will gratify our "Down East friends" to hear that "we are rapidly assimilating ourselves and our laws to Down Eastern ideas." The particular act of assimilation that called out these ideas was the hearing before Judge Orr of three petitions for divorce, of which two were granted.—*June 3, 1869.*

IT IS A LONG WHILE since there was a prospect of so dull a summer, in all that relates to politics, as the one which we are entering.—*June 10, 1869.*

THE UNIVERSITIES OF THE COUNTRY have been for some time past evidently a good deal puzzled with regard to the course they should pursue touching the rival claims of the old and the new education, as they are called.—*June 10, 1869.*

MESSRS. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. announce as in press . . . a revised (the sixth) edition of "The Stomach and its Difficulties," by Sir James Eyre, M.D.—*June 10, 1869.*

IN TENNESSEE, the political contest becomes more exciting, as the rival candidates are stumping the state together—shaking hands on the platform before each speech, and then in turn covering each other with mud of all description.—*June 17, 1869.*

CONSIDERING THAT SO MUCH SHOOTING by women is going on in the country, and that the feminine world no less than the masculine is liable to moral epidemics, and that women who edit papers are urging other women to carry fire-arms for their defense, perhaps our male legislators may look about them and see if anything can be done to hedge about the virtue of women with legal terrors.—*June 17, 1869*

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The Rebirth of Europe

BY BOGDAN RADITSA

LAST week I discussed those governments in exile which a modern Dante would expect to find in Purgatory awaiting their rewards and those which would be kept in Limbo, being guilty of no sin except that "baptism was not theirs." We now descend into the lower depths of Hell.

As the day of invasion approaches, the three governments in this circle grow increasingly conscious of their difficult position. The governments of Greece and Yugoslavia, after three years of futile intrigue, are attempting to resolve the conflict between them and the people by making belated concessions. The situation of the Polish government, complicated by hostile relations with Russia and by the anti-democratic attitude of certain elements in exile, is in flux. Comrades in their unhappiness, the three compliment one another through their diplomatic representatives and the press. Two of them have even cemented their bonds by a marriage joining the Greek and Yugoslav royal families.

The Polish government in exile cannot be called wholly reactionary. Many of its members are democrats, Socialists, or trade unionists. The Prime Minister himself, Mikolajczyk, is a leader of the Peasant Party, which has always been democratic. But the influence of the chief of staff, General Sosnkowski, and the military clique, disciples of Pilsudski, Smigly-Rydz, and Joseph Beck, has been overpowering.

Recently an effort has been made by Socialists on the National Council, the government's war-time parliament, to divest General Sosnkowski of his political functions. Underground leaders now in London have said that the Polish people desire a separation of General Sosnkowski's functions. The success or failure of this effort will be an important factor in determining Poland's future foreign policy and, consequently, Poland's future welfare. A sensible policy must decide how the best interests of the Polish people may be furthered. Certainly they are not bound up with the chauvinistic aspirations of the Polish ruling class.

Many Americans and British believe that in the seething Balkan peninsula only the kings can rally their people to a united effort for freedom and unification. Actually, the kings, their courts, and the governments they have chosen have always created internal divisions. As long as kings rule in the Balkans, there can be no federated union of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, much less a Balkan confederation.

In Greece, ethnically a homogeneous nation, the dynasty has caused an unhappy cleavage in the forces of resistance. Recent events inside and outside Greece have forced the King to declare that he will not resume his throne until the people, by a free vote, decide what they want. George II, however, has made promises before and then broken them.

The E. A. M., which is patterned after Marshal Tito's movement and is one of the most powerful underground organizations in the Balkans, has demanded again and again of the various Prime Ministers that a national coalition government be formed in which the underground would participate. King George has now finally authorized Prime Minister Papandreou to form a government of national union conforming to a blueprint drawn up by representatives of all the Greek political and fighting groups meeting in Beirut.

King Peter of Yugoslavia has also at long last dismissed the fascist Purich ministry, which has repeatedly been in open conflict with the people of Yugoslavia, and has dropped General Mihailovich as War Minister. It has been announced that a "coalition" government will be formed. Whether or not King Peter will be able to nullify the damage done by five consecutive governments in exile to the unity of the Yugoslav nation will depend upon Marshal Tito. In an interview released on May 21 by the Associated Press, Tito stated clearly that he considers his government, which was formed in November, 1943, the true people's government of Yugoslavia. He has asked for funds from the Yugoslav National Bank and for the Yugoslav warships now in the possession of King Peter's government, which he accuses of "squandering for its personal ends" money raised to support these ships. Tito also requests representation on the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. When he was asked whether Yugoslavia was likely to fall within the sphere of any major power or combination of powers after the war, he replied that Yugoslavia's effort in the war would give the Yugoslavs the right to "arrange for themselves their internal organization and their foreign relations—a right guaranteed by the Atlantic Charter and the Moscow and Teheran conferences."

THE FREE MOVEMENTS

Most of the "free movements" are bound much more closely to the people at home than are many of the governments in exile. They base their authority on the aspirations of the people, while the governments base

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theirs upon "legitimacy." The ambassadors of the governments in exile are consulted by Allied chancelleries on all matters pertaining to their nations. The leaders of the free movements stand hat in hand before a third- or fourth-ranking official in the foreign offices and are lucky to be allowed to express their views.

Of all the emigrations, the Spanish has been the largest and politically the most diverse. Within its ranks political controversy has been sharp. Generally, two tendencies have been manifest—loyalty to the last constitutional government headed by Dr. Juan Negrín, and loyalty to Indalecio Prieto.

The followers of Negrín hold that the last constitutional government is still in existence. They maintain that it is a truly representative body, since it includes the most important political parties and workers' organizations in Spain. When the republic is restored, they believe that the Negrín government must be reinstated to preserve order until general elections can be held, when the Spanish people will choose the government they want.

Indalecio Prieto has been in open opposition to the legitimacy of the Negrín government since the beginning of its exile. Some months ago he created a Junta Española de Liberación which claims to represent a half-dozen political parties but not the trade unions, since Prieto has always maintained that they cannot participate in the government. The original national committees of most of the parties which the new organism assumes to represent have issued from Mexico a joint statement repudiating the Junta and reaffirming their support of the government.

More recently another development has agitated the Spanish emigration. With the particular indorsement of the Communists, a Junta Nacional Suprema de Liberación has been created in Madrid and has been hailed in the Communist Spanish press as the real embodiment of the resistance movement in Spain and therefore as the true representative of the nation.

Though the Spanish Republicans seem divided, they are one in purpose: they oppose Franco and they oppose the restoration of the monarchy.

The Italian anti-Fascist forces are morally close to the Spanish. They were the first to experience fascism, the first to resist it, and the first to go into exile, where they have been waging an unceasing battle for democracy. Their writings constitute a permanent contribution to the political literature of our time. At one time they were looked upon with suspicion as "premature anti-fascists" who were complicating the relations of the Paris, London, and Washington governments with Mussolini's Italy.

The first post-Fascist government of the King and Marshal Badoglio, formed in collaboration with liberals, Catholics, democrats, Socialists, and Communists, has disappointed many Italian liberals—Gaetano Salvemini, Randolfo Pacciardi, G. A. Borgese, and Pietro Nenni, among others. It is not what thousands of Italian anti-Fascists have fought and died for in Italy, Spain, and elsewhere. On the contrary, many feel that the longing of the Italian masses for a democratic Italian republic has been betrayed and that the rising revolutionary spirit of the Italians has been smothered by compromise and expediency.

A thorough analysis of the political principles of the German emigration would demand more space than is available here. Free German committees have been formed in most of the United Nations. There is one in London, another in Moscow, a third in New York, a fourth in Mexico. They are unrelated, though there seems to be contact between the committees in Moscow and London.

A "Council for a Democratic Germany" formed recently in New York brings together German liberals, democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats, Center Catholics, Christian Moderates, Communists, for the purpose of clarifying their views and formulating a consistent program. The founders of the council do not claim to have a formal mandate from the German people, but they ask for "the creation of a new Germany within the framework of a free world." They are trying, one of the members told me, to further the establishment of a "European Germany" as opposed to "a German Europe." Like all German movements, the council has been regarded skeptically by other European exiles. Many of the German groups have a good anti-Nazi record and have expressed a clear desire for the democratic reconstruction of Germany, but they have to contend with certain emotional and political reservations which are applied against all Germans.

Many leading Austrian democrats are in exile. Julius Deutsch and Ferdinand Czernin, together with other Europeans who fear the reconstitution of the old Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, have been fighting untiringly against Otto von Hapsburg and seem to have won their battle. Unfortunately, attempts are still being made to bring Otto out of the realm of drawing-rooms, where he has been spouting the language of democracy, into a wider sphere of political activity. Recently we have had reliable information that Regent Horthy of Hungary has instructed his envoys in neutral countries to act independently if necessary but to support Otto as far as possible.

The Hungarians are represented by Count Karolyi in London and Rustem Vambery in New York. A National Hungarian Council headed by Count Karolyi works harmoniously with the democratic forces of Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Rumania has Charles Davila and others who follow the democratic line laid down by the great Rumanian leader Maniu. Men like

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Momchilov, Padev, Matsankijev represent what there is of Bulgaria in exile; they are supporting with all the means they possess the growing spirit of collaboration between the Bulgarian and Yugoslav peoples. Various reactionary figures, like Tibor Eckhardt of Hungary and Kosta Todorov of Bulgaria, have tried in vain to paralyze the exiled democratic forces of their countries.

And so a "miniature Europe" in exile has dreamed and waited while the people have fought, suffered, and matured. The expulsion of the Nazis will leave Europe physically exhausted but politically rejuvenated and morally strong. When the exiles return they will find new values, new attitudes, new leaders.

In the period between the two wars Europe witnessed a struggle between monarchy and democracy. As Guglielmo Ferrero has said, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and of the German and Czarist empires in 1918 left three-quarters of Europe with governments incapable of ruling their countries or of keeping the peace. Some monarchies, Ferrero said, emerged as rocks in a flood, but the occupants of their thrones were more like shadows than kings. Against their shadowy "legitimacy" a democratic "legitimacy" pitted its strength. Fascism tried to thwart both sides by its use of totalitarian force. It did not succeed. The revolutionary process has continued, and the oppressed people, working underground and in exile, have forged a new democratic plan for the regeneration of Europe.

In the democratic monarchies the principle of constitutional monarchy will survive. Elsewhere in the West republics will be formed under France's leadership. In Southeastern Europe and the Balkans monarchy will be supplanted by the new democratic legitimacy of popular governments that will look to Russia for inspiration.

The birth of a new Europe depends to a great extent upon the agreement of the three great powers. Should one of them oppose the revolutionary aims of a people while another encourages them, a peaceful settlement will be tragically postponed. The peoples of Europe are tired of compromises and counter-revolutions. They are determined to express their will, once and for all.

[*This is the second of two articles on the European Governments in Exile.*]

Stassen of Minnesota

BY RICHARD H. ROVERE

HAROLD E. STASSEN, who has very little chance of becoming Republican candidate for President but a very good chance of being named for Vice-President, is easily the most impressive of the men whose names will be placed before the Chicago convention. He is brighter than Bricker, more personable than Dewey, and less reactionary than Warren. He has some distinguished supporters, including men like Sinclair Lewis and Dr. Walter Judd, one of the best liberals in the Congress. What is more, he has a program. It could be a more inspiring program, but this year even a firm stand on widows' pensions makes a Republican sound forthright. Stassen is, he tells us, in favor of world organization and of abandoning most, though not quite all, New Deal controls on the economy. He is fairly specific in saying what he means by world organization and in telling which controls he would relax, which he would abandon. His plan for world government is a modified version of Clarence Streit's Union Now, and many perceive Streit's hand in his *Saturday Evening Post* articles and in many speeches. He is against New Deal taxation and labor laws, but he insists that he would maintain, even broaden, the social-security program and, in time of need, the public-works program.

Stassen has broken the silence with more than double-talk. His words are pretty good. But what of the record? Fine words have been spoken by more politicians than ever lived up to them, and Stassen has given no assurances that his internationalism can be taken any more seriously than, for example, the sucker bait offered by Warren Gamaliel Harding in 1920. Unlike Wendell Willkie, he has made no sacrifice for his views.

Stassen had one excellent opportunity to show that his internationalism went beyond his ghost-written magazine articles. He muffed it. That was in December, 1942, at the St. Louis meeting of the Republican National Committee, when Wendell Willkie and other internationalist Republicans were trying to keep their party out of isolationist control. Colonel Robert R. McCormick was moving the constellations in order to have Werner W. Schroeder, committeeman from Illinois, elected national chairman. Stassen and his representative, Mrs. Chris Carlson, Minnesota committeewoman, were implored to join the movement to stop Schroeder. But while Roy Dunn, the other Minnesota delegate and no Stassen enthusiast, voted against Schroeder, Mrs. Carlson voted for him. Harrison Spangler, the bungling mugwump from Iowa, finally won out as a kind of compromise candidate, but the early balloting was so close that Stassen, if his publicized idealism had exceeded his

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practicality, might have turned the tide the other way. That, however, would have meant sharing honors—and enemies—with Wendell Willkie, and Stassen was unwilling to go that far. Ever since then the Chicago *Tribune* has overlooked Stassen's published heresies. Many observers believe that by entering the Wisconsin primaries Stassen deliberately sabotaged Willkie to kill off internationalist competition within the party.

If Stassen is in fact a liberal, his record as Governor of Minnesota offers no more proof than his record in party politics. For five years he gave the state an honest and efficient administration. Bricker, Dewey, and Warren have done no less. He balanced the budget and piled up a surplus, but it is high time someone pointed out that a state surplus these days is about as impressive as black ink in the ledgers of an aircraft manufacturer. Stassen met one of the few serious issues of policy to arise—that of strikes—by putting through a law, which he fondly calls the "count-ten plan," that effectively hampers union strategy by forcing workers to give employers ten days' notice before a walkout. "One day for each count," Stassen says. He advocates this law for the nation. He also advocates for the nation a general sales tax, which he prefers to call a "progress tax" in lieu of "levies on initiative," and a sixty-hour work week with time and *one-tenth* for overtime. He was sued three years ago by Kenneth Lee Turpin, a St. Paul Negro, because of race discrimination in the Defense Bureau, home guard of Minnesota. Turpin tried to join the organization and was told that Negroes were not wanted. He appealed to Stassen, and Stassen said that he was powerless to change the decision. Turpin opened suit against Stassen and two officers of the Defense Bureau. Then the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People moved in with all its machinery for litigation and publicity. A few days later Turpin got a registered letter from Stassen, who had discovered that he was commander-in-chief of the state military, welcoming Turpin to the Defense Bureau. Somewhat later Walter White, president of the N. A. A. C. P., wrote Stassen to ask why he never mentioned the race question in his articles on world affairs. Stassen replied that he was "on record many times in word and in deed against discrimination for race, color, or creed." Perhaps he is, but Walter White is still trying to find the record.

Stassen has risen fast, faster in fact than Dewey, and by means of much the same sort of political dexterity. He was born just thirty-seven years ago to poor Scandinavian parents on a truck farm near St. Paul. Inheritance and farm life gave him a bluff, friendly nature and an imposing physique—"silo-tall" is the way *Time* describes him every week or so. A quick mind got him through high school at fourteen. At sixteen he entered the state university and went on through the law school, finishing up at twenty-two.

After leaving law school Stassen set up offices in a packing-house suburb of St. Paul with another young man named Elmer Ryan. They made a slick team. Stassen worked the Republican side of the street, Ryan the Democratic. With Ryan's Democratic support, Stassen became a Republican district attorney; Ryan, with Stassen's Republican support, became a Democratic Congressman. At that time Floyd Olson, a great liberal leader, was Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota. Olson had inspired many young men to join his reform movement, but Stassen was unmoved. Stassen did, however, learn a great many tricks from Olson, a big, crafty Svenska and a master campaigner. Knowing that the Farmer-Labor Party had less than a majority of the voters, Olson had organized "all-party committees" through which he reached into the regular organizations for many votes. Stassen adapted the idea to his own campaigns.

In 1936 Stassen did not seek office, but he did watch the campaign closely. Olson, after six years as Governor, became a candidate for the Senate, and Elmer A. Benson, who had served a few months in the Senate after the death of blind Tom Schall, ran for Governor. Against this combination, in a great year for liberals, the Republicans put up their regular line of old faithfuls. Olson died before the election, and Ernest Lundeen took his place on the ticket. Despite the loss of their leaders, the Farmer-Laborites came in ahead by many lengths.

Stassen had seen the ineffectiveness of the older Republicans, and he set himself up as a kind of one-man youth movement. His liberalism dates from that time. He joined all the young men's clubs that he could and toured the state telling them that, since age had failed, youth must save Minnesota from the Farmer-Labor menace. A measure of Republican liberalism, he said, was needed to head off Farmer-Labor radicalism. Among the many young men whom he impressed was Joseph Ball, then a political reporter for the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*. In 1938 Stassen entered the primaries heading a slate of his own, a kind of Junior Executive ticket, and easily defeated the Old Guard machine.

For the general election of 1938 Stassen used all the tricks in the book. Certain that the conservative vote was in the bag, he wooed liberals by announcing that he stood "for the true principles of Floyd Olson." He kept Old Guard Republicans out of sight and consorted with few Republicans of any kind. Most of the men around him were members of the other parties who, generally because of disappointment over jobs, had broken their old ties. A group of Stassen's supporters, whom he later disowned, made ugly but effective use of anti-Semitism to the delight of the extreme reactionaries.

Stassen's first campaign for the governorship was a very tidy piece of rigging for so young a politician. His subsequent campaigns have shown equal ability. He has known how to deal in personalities and how to change

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the issues to please the group to which he is at the moment appealing. Political feeling runs high in Minnesota, and many factions rend the air with their oratory. Stassen has offered something to each, and he has picked up votes from all. The national and international issues on which he has spoken so well in other parts of the country yield to strictly local concerns in Minnesota. He has used the spoils issue to good effect—denouncing patronage in campaigns and paying off with it the day after election. He has appeased corporate interests by bringing about reductions in the taxes of the great steel companies that own the iron in the Mesaba range. By appointing Joseph Ball to the Senate seat left vacant by the death of Ernest Lundeen, he created for himself a Washington spokesman of considerable eloquence.

Senator Ball will nominate Stassen in Chicago no matter what the odds against him are. The odds on Dewey are, of course, almost overwhelming, but not quite so staggering as the pre-convention count would indicate. Every other Republican candidate has been sustained by the knowledge that most of Dewey's delegates would be delighted to leave him if they saw another winner. Band-wagons are seldom powered by devotion to a man, but the Dewey band-wagon may be slowed down by the unrepressed dislike of many who support him. If open dissension should break out, it would spread quickly, and Stassen, who is genuinely popular, would be the most probable beneficiary. One other factor favors him. The Republican internationalist vote, which heretofore adhered to Willkie, has been estimated at close to 7,000,000. This could be a balance of power. If Dewey runs, Roosevelt will capture much of it. But if Stassen were nominated, he would be able to command a great deal of it—and also, because of his service record, a large share of the soldier vote. He would certainly alienate no conservatives.

The far more likely outcome is that Stassen will be offered, and will accept, the nomination for Vice-President. A great many Republican strategists now see this as the solution to their problem, and Stassen is the one candidate who has not yet rejected the prospect of running in second place. Some believe that he can assuage two opposite sections of opinion at once—the internationalists on the one hand and on the other the corn-belt voters, largely isolationist, who will be annoyed if their section is not represented. Annoyed or not, the farm vote will go along with any Republican, but enthusiasm might be heightened by the presence of one of their own on the ticket. And Stassen has played the game cagily enough to be agreeable to both groups. Both the Chicago *Tribune* and the New York *Herald Tribune* are pleased with him. The only hitch in this arrangement, and it is one that seriously troubles those who advocate it, is that Dewey, who is reported to have taken the matter under advisement, dislikes the thought of sharing platforms with a noticeably taller man. He has a terrible Mutt and Jeff complex, and the thought of a Vice-President half-a-head taller than himself is not appealing.

Patients Without Doctors

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE

THE House of Delegates of the Medical Society of the State of New York, at its recent annual meeting, gave its official blessing to a private corporation, United Medical Services, Inc., established to sell medical insurance. It also voted to set up a Bureau of Medical Care Insurance, to make a "study of possibilities and procedures for a state-wide plan directed and controlled through the Medical Society of the State of New York." A short time previously the medical societies of the five counties that New York City comprises had approved in principle Mayor LaGuardia's plan for voluntary health insurance open to wage- and salary-earners with incomes of $5,000 a year or less, but had served notice that they would fight to lower the income ceiling to $2,500—a revision which would limit the plan's usefulness, would make its working difficult, and in the opinion of some authorities would make it unworkable.

Both these moves are aimed to prevent passage of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill for national compulsory health insurance. The fact that organized medicine has resorted to such sly tactics indicates the growing strength of the demand for effective health insurance. The American Medical Association and its state and county subsidiaries used to fight group-payment plans by suspending from membership all doctors who cooperated with them—the Ross-Loos Clinic case in 1934 and the District of Columbia Group Health Association case in 1939 are well-known examples. In the latter case the Supreme Court ruled that the American Medical Association's activities constituted restraint of trade under the Anti-Trust Act. Since then the A. M. A. seems to have decided that group-payment plans are here to stay, for it is no longer fighting them but trying to keep them in safe conservative hands. It is now fighting the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. Mayor LaGuardia himself favors the bill; he offered his own plan as a stop-gap, not as a substitute.

The bill, introduced in the Senate by Wagner of New

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York and Murray of Montana (S. 1161) and in the House by Dingell of Michigan (H. R. 2861), is one of a number of similar plans that are being considered in democratic countries. The British government has proposed a plan based on the medical section of the Beveridge Report; the Canadian House of Commons has before it the 600-page Report of the Advisory Committee on Health Insurance, popularly known as the Marsh plan; a similar plan is being considered in Australia; Mexico adopted a comprehensive health-insurance program at the beginning of this year. The Philadelphia Charter of the I. L. O., adopted at its recent convention, recognizes "the solemn obligation of the International Labor Organization to further among the nations of the world . . . the extension of social security measures to provide . . . comprehensive medical care."

The chief economic virtue of national health insurance is that it eliminates the risk of an unpredictable and unbudgetable family expense. Its practicability has been amply demonstrated in those countries which have tried it, notably in Czechoslovakia and Germany before the war and in Uruguay and Chile at present. Before they came to power the Nazis had charged that the German system was administratively top-heavy—the old cry of "bureaucracy"—but when they took it over they found that the only way they could save money was to reduce the quantity and quality of medical care. This they did. They dared not eliminate it entirely. Opposition to the idea in this country takes the line that it would be used as a political instrument by the party in power, that it would have a deleterious effect on standards of treatment, and that it would lead to communism, fascism, Nazism, "state socialism," and state capitalism.

Such irrelevant charges only obfuscate the issue. Medical individualism, which has shown itself to be inadequate for the needs of a nation at war,* was inadequate even in peace time; after the war, if it continues to be the characteristic form of medical organization, it will be at the expense of our national health. All available evidence indicates that (1) there are too few doctors, (2) they are poorly distributed, (3) medical care is expensive, and (4) most doctors are not able to use their knowledge and skill to best advantage. These admittedly broad statements are based on the findings of a national survey conducted by the American Foundation and a number of special studies by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care. The American Foundation's report, "American Medicine: Expert Testimony Out of Court," was published in two fat volumes in 1937 and is the most recent collection of evidence on a national scale; the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care assembled a mountain of statistics covering the years 1928 to 1932 inclusive. Taken together, they afford a broad panorama of the medical situation in the United States during the boom, the depression, and the recovery; it is significant that the findings were much the same in all three periods.

The American Foundation is a highly respectable organization whose directors include Thomas Lamont, Dr. Robert A. Millikan, James D. Mooney, president of General Motors Export Corporation, and Mrs. Ogden Reid, vice-president of the Republican New York *Herald Tribune*. Hardly a Communist outfit. It wrote letters of inquiry to doctors of twenty years' or more experience and to recent graduates of Grade A medical schools, and summed up their answers thus: "It is fair to say that this correspondence seems to justify the view that, by and large, adequate medical care is not now generally available." A few excerpts from the correspondence will make the point clear enough:

> A serious illness, expecially if long prolonged, absorbs the savings of a lifetime of the average family. I have seen it happen over and over again. . . . There is hardly a person living in this county with rich soil who at the present time is able to go to a hospital for attendance. . . . In this state approximately one-third of the people die without consulting a doctor even in their fatal illness. . . . Patent medicines and a faith healer get the major share of support. The faith healer has become wealthy.

And so on, from east, west, north, and south, from big cities, middle-sized cities, small towns, and rural areas, from young doctors and old, from officials of city, county, and state health departments. Their personal observations are borne out by the impersonal statistics of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, an independent research body composed of physicians and economists and financed by a group of well-known foundations. One of its investigators found in 1929 that families in industrial cities spent an average of $140 a year for medical care, of which $74 went to private physicians; two other investigators reported in 1930 that the annual cost ranged from $66 for families with incomes of less than $1,200 a year to $311.06 for families with incomes of more than $5,000. In the same year Leon Henderson found that 28.3 per cent of all personal loans were made for medical expenses. One of the committee's last studies, published in 1933, showed that "if the nation's bill for medical care were equally distributed among the people of this country, the annual charge would be $123 per family." And Dr. Samuel Bradbury, in an independent study published by the University of Chicago Press in 1937, found that if the average family got all the medical care it *should* have, the minimum cost would be $260 per year, or 10.9 per cent of its income. In terms somewhat easier to visualize, this means that a family man earning $45.50 a week would have to pay $4.96 a week for adequate medical care at minimum rates.

Some doctors have large incomes, but most don't do too well. Though many replies to the American Foundation's inquiry indicated that there were too few doctors,

* See the reports of the subcommittee on war-time health and education, Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

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there is evidence that large numbers of those who are available are not fully employed. The Lynds reported (1929) that the 38,000 people of "Middletown" depended chiefly on patent medicines and folk remedies and that their fifty doctors were idle much of the time; Maurice Leven, in a study published by the University of Chicago Press (1932), found that doctors' incomes compared very poorly with those of mechanical engineers and other professional men with comparable training; and an Idaho physician wrote to the American Foundation (1937) that many doctors "are scarcely able to provide decently for their families, by reason of insufficient practice." The whole situation is summed up in Mr. Leven's conclusion: "Medical care is now supplied in a haphazard way at a high cost to the public and, apparently, with no particular profit to a very large proportion of physicians."

An individual who goes to a public or private free clinic may get the best treatment that science can offer, but this is largely a matter of chance; there is general agreement among investigators that such clinics, on the whole, offer inadequate service, both quantitatively and qualitatively. In any case they are not available to people with moderate incomes, who when they need medical care must (1) pay the high price of private treatment, or (2) accept "charity" from an individual physician, or (3) go untreated. The various group-payment plans now in operation are good as far as they go, but they don't offer complete medical care, and Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association,* has admitted that they cover only 3 per cent of the population. Their fees are not based on ability to pay; generally speaking, they are not available to people with low incomes. Moreover, their protection ends when the subscriber becomes unemployed and is no longer able to keep up his payments; they tend to break down during periods of depression, when they are needed most.

National health insurance is of course not a complete solution of the problem of adequate care. Full employment is a necessary factor in any complete solution—the Beveridge Report recognizes this fact, and so does the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. "Many would agree," says the American Foundation, "that nothing clear can result from any discussion that confuses the problem caused by the lack of a living wage and the problem caused by the lack of medical care. It remains true, however, that many of those that do have a living wage find themselves unable to pay present costs for adequate medical care." That is the *raison d'être* of all the present national plans. They do not offer to solve the larger social problems, but only to do the best that can be done within the limitations of the present economic system.

[*In a later issue Mr. Morse will discuss the provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill and the nature of the forces favoring it and opposing it.*]

In the Wind

WE DON'T KNOW whether to feel flattered or not by an essay in the *News Letter* of the Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University. The twelfth-grade level of reading ability, it says, "is probably the level required to read *The Nation,* the *New Republic,* [and] the Foreign Policy Association reports." That's the highest level it mentions.

HERE'S ONE FOR PEGLER: The Yugoslav Seamen's Club of New York has offered to man ships to carry supplies to Tito without pay.

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO has been voted the most popular speaker of all those who have addressed the weekly assemblies of Bryn Mawr students this term.

FROM A LETTER in *Yank,* the army weekly: "Here is a question that each Negro soldier is asking. What is the Negro soldier fighting for? . . . Myself and eight other soldiers were on our way from Camp Claiborne, La., to the hospital here at Fort Huachuca. We had to lay over until the next day for our train. . . . The only place where we could be served was at the lunchroom at the railroad station, but of course we had to go into the kitchen. But that's not all: 11:30 a. m. about two dozen German prisoners of war, with two American guards, came to the station. They entered the lunchroom, sat at the tables, had their meals served, talked, smoked, in fact, had quite a swell time. . . . Why are they treated better than we are? . . . Some of the boys are saying that you will not print this letter. I'm saying that you will."

THE CITY-COUNTY HOSPITAL for the Indigent at Fort Worth, Texas, has a large inscription above its two narrow entrances and the wide space between them. The central inscription reads: "Erected for the poor of Tarrant County without regard to race, creed, or color." At either end, directly above the doorways, are the words "White" and "Colored."

WE ARE SORRY about that quotation from the *Saturday Review of Literature* in this column last week. It was taken not from an editorial but from a signed review and does not represent the viewpoint of the editor.

FESTUNG EUROPA: A Norwegian ferryman was arrested for selling a German soldier a child's ticket. The sensitive Nazi officer who arrested him said it was an insult to the uniform. At the trial the ferryman replied that it was the rule to sell children's tickets to all passengers below the age of sixteen and that the soldier had given his age as fourteen and a half. . . . They tell this one in Vienna: The Führer died. As the coffin was being lowered into the grave, it had to be raised twenty times. There was so much applause.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or notes that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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No Unity with Fascists

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THAT the main issue in this war is the destruction of Hitler is an indisputable fact for every anti-fascist. As early as 1935 this writer scandalized his pacifist associates by asking for international action against Hitler, even at the risk of war. Only the other day French friends now in New York, who in that year attended a meeting in Paris of the International Peace Campaign under the chairmanship of Lord Robert Cecil, recalled the stupefaction with which the delegates listened to a Spaniard who rose to say: "If you want to secure peace, declare war on Hitler." That Spaniard was myself.

In 1939 this was still the attitude of every anti-fascist who watched the development of the world situation. Neither the argument that it was an imperialist war nor the presence in the governments of the great powers of men like Chamberlain and Daladier, who had sold out Czechoslovakia and Spain, was enough to deflect us from our line. To destroy Hitler was, in our opinion, the supreme duty of every anti-fascist.

It is our duty today. The recognition that fascism was the chief enemy made us concentrate our fire upon Hitler, the most aggressive, brutal, and dangerous among the fascists. Every ally was welcome in the effort to destroy him. To finish with Hitler and all that he represents, no sacrifice in the platform of any anti-fascist party seemed too great. To make collaboration possible between the left parties and those sections of the middle class that hated fascism but did not accept a socialist program, many socialist demands had to be modified or dropped for the moment. It was in this way that the people's fronts were born. The same purpose inspired the whole policy of national unity.

But the readiness to accept as allies in the fight against Hitler people of diverse political backgrounds had to be halted as soon as there was danger that the dividing line between fascists and anti-fascists might disappear through the effort to extend the anti-Hitler coalition as far as possible. If national unity was to be justified in the eyes of genuine anti-fascists, it had to have one limitation: it must not lead to unity with fascists or with the tools and allies of fascists; it must not destroy its own aim—to end fascism everywhere and forever.

Today we face the danger that the policy of national unity, instead of being directed against the fascists, may be turned against the anti-fascists who refuse to work with them. *Unità del Popolo,* the Italian Communist paper in New York, has not hurled its invectives against the retinue of little *ducisti* who still surround Marshal Badoglio. Its severest reproaches have been reserved for that magnificent old anti-fascist fighter Gaetano Salvemini, who opposes the neo-Fascist Anglo-American rule in Italy.

If the only platform for action against fascism—the platform that the fight against fascism is a fight to the death—is not reestablished quickly and unhesitatingly, the policy of national unity will lead to this cruel paradox: unity will be established with the most reactionary elements in every country, with the renegades from fascism, and at the same time the unity of yesterday among the real anti-fascist forces will be broken. To make it more clear: in the case of Spain this policy would lead to a situation in which any General Aranda or any one of the bishops who have gone along with Franco during the past four years would be accepted as allies, while a labor leader who has refused to move in such company would be branded as a saboteur of unity and politically undesirable.

Let us say very frankly to the Communists: unity built through appeasing the right at the cost of the left is not the kind of unity needed at the moment when fascism, retreating on the battlefields, is trying to survive by every possible means. It is not the kind of unity that can strengthen the progressive forces in their fight against the maneuvers of the various foreign offices, whose supreme wish is to keep in power kings, generals, and politicians who, though they have helped fascism, are considered useful instruments for the maintenance of the old social order.

I know very well that the war is still going on. But no recent event has caused me to change my opinion that a clear-cut anti-fascist line is the best political weapon that can be put into the hands of the people. Not only is the theory false that in order to obtain an immediate military advantage any and every concession is justified in the political field. In addition to rejecting such expediency in the realm of principle, I vigorously deny that it has pushed final victory an inch closer. In southern Italy it has certainly not stimulated the Italian people to contribute to the present Allied offensive. No Italian who really hates fascism will be inflamed by an appeal signed by Badoglio. If there was any possibility of

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arousing the Italian masses to fight against the invader, it was by encouraging the rise of new, uncompromised leadership in place of that of the Fascist king and his generals.

That this possibility existed we have said several times on the basis of reports from northern Italy. Now, we can cite a greater authority in support of this assertion. A communiqué issued on May 20 by General Alexander, the commander-in-chief of the Allied forces in Italy, stated that Italian patriots in the north were tying up six German divisions. They are Italians like the people in the south, with this difference: in the north they are fighting the Germans and fascism at the same time; in the south they have been obliged by the political mistakes of the Allies to accept Badoglio and the King.

The movement of resistance has proved everywhere how hate for Hitler and for his invading armies has united the political adversaries of yesterday. The owner of a factory has united with the local labor leaders who seemed so difficult when the question of wages was discussed. The aristocratic landowner has united with his peasants; the conservative candidate with his Socialist rival in the last election; the Catholic priest with the Protestant school teacher. But the resistance movement has not united anti-fascists with fascists. Not only would a Pucheu, with his bloody hands, have been thrown out of the underground if he had not been disposed of more quickly in Algiers, but no writer, no civil servant, no parliamentarian who had taken a stand in favor of fascism during the era of collaboration, or even before the war, would ever be accepted in the resistance movement. People who risk their lives every day in the fight against fascism do not want repentant fascists in their ranks.

That which is valid during the war is equally valid for the immediate post-war period. Everywhere former fascists and collaborationists will come out hailing the policy of national unity if it gives them a chance to escape the consequences of popular justice. Everywhere we shall see them asking for unity in order that the country may be reconstructed more quickly, that an end be put to "chaos," and that the peace be organized in an atmosphere of calm and reconciliation. In the fight between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction no precaution the progressive elements can take will be too great.

The reaction will have on its side the advantage of four years of war, in which the Allies' failure to take a strong democratic position has played directly into its hands. It will have the support of all the elements in the various Allied governments who were responsible for the policy of appeasing fascism from 1933 to 1939. The enemy is too strong and too terrible to need the help of the left, given out of the left's confusion and contradictions.

Snapshot from Algiers

BY B. S.

A FRIEND of mine has just arrived in New York from Algiers, having left France only a few months before. Durant, as I shall call him, is an intelligent and reflective Frenchman whose judgment of men and events I greatly value. He reports that the success of the militant resistance movement is largely due to the aid it has received from almost the entire French population, including government officials and even a large number of the police.

Durant, as one of the principal labor leaders of France, was chosen by a workers' organization to represent it in the Consultative Assembly in Algiers. A marked man in Paris, he moved to a city in southeastern France. One day he received a message: "Your departure is scheduled for midnight tonight. Go to S——. Someone will meet you there. The password is 'Bien-être et liberté.'" At the appointed hour Durant was at his rendezvous, far out in the deserted countryside. About two o'clock in the morning a British plane landed in a nearby field. A few minutes later it rose into the air again, carrying him toward England.

Both the Darnand militia and the Gestapo, Durant tells me, have intensified their efforts to track down the men who have taken to the *maquis*. Their raids have had a serious effect on the underground movement. Many "suspects" have been placed in preventive custody. Others have been tortured, deported, or assassinated. Families of men who have escaped to London and Algiers are seized as hostages. All open spaces which might be used for landing fields are closely watched by the Nazis or have been crisscrossed with trenches.

Durant describes the mounting nervous tension of the French as they wait for the Anglo-American invasion. All France is on the alert, and a large French army without uniforms and variously armed awaits the signal to throw itself into the fight. If the Allied offensive against Fortress Europe is delayed much longer there is danger, he feels, that the Resistance may collapse. But, he adds quickly, this grim eventuality is not likely.

French democracy hopes that the Allies will not repeat the mistakes made in North Africa. For our part, says Durant, we are doing our best to cement the friendship between France and the Allies. Pierre Cot, for example, has condemned very strongly the narrow nationalism of certain French "super-patriots." Most Americans are familiar with the political and diplomatic differences which are impeding an agreement between the Allies and the Provisional Government. But there are other "little things" which irritate the average Frenchman.

"The American soldier is all right," Durant told me. "He is often just a big boy, but sometimes he is an *enfant terrible*. The thing that astonished me most in

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American soldiers, and in the officers, too, was their lack of interest in what the war is about. Hardly a one of the boys I talked with knew what he was fighting for. Most of them wanted only to get back home, where they could have ice-cream sodas again. Moreover, the Americans have too much money and leisure.

"Drunken American soldiers, for example, were a common sight in Algiers. Americans are not in the habit of drinking wine, and since wine is very cheap—and strong—in Algeria, excesses were natural. In the first weeks after the Allied landing French families invited soldiers into their homes. In some cases they were bitterly disappointed by the behavior of their guests. They find British soldiers more correct in their behavior."

Agents of Berlin and Vichy, Durant reports, are trying to turn the French people against the Allies, but their insidious propaganda is being actively combated by all French democrats. In Algeria the trade unions, which include both French and Arabs, are making a special effort to further good relations. There are more trade-union members in North Africa today than there were in 1936 under the Popular Front. But the Vichyites often find protection from French justice among the Allies—Pierre Boisson, for example, whose military tribunal at Dakar condemned ninety-four patriots to death.

No more "expediency" for France—that is the vow of the French people, says Durant, as D-Day draws near.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THINGS have come to quite a pass when a leaflet dropped by Allied fliers over Germany is made the subject of a leading article in Herr Himmler's *Schwarzes Korps*. The author of the article (in the issue of May 11) insists on referring to the leaflet not as English or American but as Jewish, but aside from his use of that dodge he gives a fairly accurate summary of it. Only "the lack of German courage," he quotes, "stands in the way of peace. Every normal German would rather see the Anglo-American armies enter Germany than have the war continue, and every German knows that only Himmler and the Gestapo prevent the liquidation of the war. Therefore the time has come to eliminate Himmler and the Gestapo. If the Germans are too cowardly to do this, God Himself cannot help them." At the end was a statement of Hitler's: "The earth is not made for cowardly nations." All this was repeated in Himmler's paper.

The article written in answer began with a display of indignation. "What impudence of the Jews to quote Hitler to us! . . . And what nonsense to accuse the Germans, of all people, of cowardice, and to pretend that only Himmler and the Gestapo keep up the German people's morale, whereas it is sustained actually by the courage and stamina of the nation, which knows full well what is at stake." It then proceeded to develop a serious argument:

> Even if the Jews were right in assuming that Nazism —or, as they put it, Himmler and the Gestapo—has not a majority of the nation behind it, the people would still fight doggedly for victory. They feel that there is no alternative, and if the Jewish propagandists want to accomplish anything they should try to disprove that view. They should try to prove that Stalin's army will not cross the German frontier, that Germany will not be bolshevized, that German workers will not be sent to Siberia, that we shall be spared the GPU's shots in the neck, and that our children will not be sent as slaves to the Urals. . . . This "minimum program" is the least that ought to be presented to the Germans if an effect similar to that of Wilson's Fourteen Points is desired. But while the Jews do not find it difficult to make promises in the name of the Anglo-Americans, they cannot credibly promise anything in the name of Stalin. Hence they resort to the simple trick of pretending that this is a war between the Anglo-Americans and the Germans. But there is no German who does not know that actually the war is exclusively between the Germans and the Jews and between the Germans and the Bolsheviks. We cannot choose between war and an Anglo-Saxon peace; we can only choose between war and Bolshevik chaos.

Every polemic published by the Nazi authorities gives, by its very denials, a glimpse of the people's mute thoughts. When the *Schwarze Korps* emphasizes how absolutely unthinkable is an Anglo-Saxon peace, it reveals that the public has been strongly attracted by such a possibility. When it directs especially heavy fire against the statements in a leaflet, we know that these statements have found a weak spot.

Action without precedent in this war, or in any former war, was initiated during the week of May 2 to 9 in the cities of the industrial province of Rheinland-Westphalia. The following announcement of it appeared in the Recklinghausen *Nationalzeitung* for May 2:

> Unfortunately, it is a fact that last year's potato crop is insufficient for our needs. Many householders are without potatoes and will be unable to obtain any until the first of the new crop appear in the market. An attempt will be made to fill this gap by mutual help. The local branches of the Nazi Party are conducting a drive to this end. Every family will be visited and those that have a stock of potatoes will be asked to give up part of it voluntarily. The official market price will be paid. Potatoes thus collected will be distributed by the Food Offices. Only households that have no potatoes at all will be supplied.

For the first time, it is clear from this announcement, provision of a basic food has completely broken down. For the first time part of the meager rations which people have acquired with their coupons are to be taken away from them.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Ambassador Grew's Mission

TEN YEARS IN JAPAN. By Joseph C. Grew. Simon and Schuster. $3.75.

TO AT least one reviewer this is a profoundly depressing book. Not alone because it forces one to retrace the events of a sorry period, but even more because it will be used to draw a polite veil over a record of which Americans have no reason to be proud. To judge by the encomia of the early reviews, this is happening on an almost universal scale. The few questioning voices that may be raised will have to make themselves heard through a chorus of praise. This is a frightening phenomenon. If it is so easy to beguile us into glossing over the prime mistakes of the pre-war era, what security can we feel when it comes to the diplomacy of peacemaking? Our need is for the keenest awareness of the lesson of the appeasement decade, in order to fortify our determination to establish a world society in which aggression will not again be permitted to develop with impunity.

Americans have learned to stigmatize the failure of Neville Henderson's mission to Berlin. Is there anything which really distinguishes that failure from Joseph C. Grew's at Tokyo? Each was the consequence of a diplomatic policy beginning in the early thirties and pursued over a long period of years. The parallel between the fates meted out to Czechoslovakia and China is not fortuitous. Written all over both records is the unwillingness of Britain and the United States to adopt a program of uncompromising resistance to the rising aggressors in Europe and Asia. But you may search this book from cover to cover without finding that lesson written down, much less underscored in terms so unmistakable that it will sink into the minds of the American people.

Our ambassador, of course, was merely an agent and cannot legitimately be charged with responsibility for policy, although it is made abundantly clear that he fully supported the line taken. We were, in fact, served by an unusually active and well-informed diplomat in Tokyo. Mr. Grew obviously inspired the respect and liking of a succession of Foreign Ministers, as well as of a host of Japanese in the upper classes. He reported the changing political currents in Japan with skill and fidelity. Very early he learned to distrust the real political strength of the "moderates," and to look with dark foreboding on the unpredictable explosions of the military. In January, 1941, he specifically warned of rumors that the Japanese were "planning to go all out in a mass surprise attack on Pearl Harbor." On November 3, 1941, he reported that war "may come with dangerous and dramatic suddenness," noting in his diary next day that this dispatch was "on the record for all time."

And so it is—but is this enough? The glitter of it must not bemuse us. We must look for something more solid than a timely warning that catastrophe was at hand. What *policy* did Grew, and his supporters at Washington, have to *avert* catastrophe? As to this, the Ambassador defines his own position quite clearly: his policy was not one of appeasement; he liked to call it "constructive conciliation." In actual practice it narrowed down to a program of oiling troubled waters, to monotonously repeated protests against injuries to American interests, to a wishful hope that the next Cabinet would be more moderate. "Time, I believe, will play into our hands if we allow nature to take its course unhindered by us. By hindrances I mean steps in the nature of sanctions." This was April 10, 1940, and represented a position held undeviatingly since Grew's arrival in mid-1932. Never a mention after July, 1937, that our materials were arming Japan for its attack on China—and on ourselves.

Counter-measures of a moderate kind—not going so far as an oil embargo—he permitted himself to approve in September, 1940, after Japan had signed the pact with the Axis. The Ambassador mentions in his diary at this time a so-called "green-light" telegram, which he terms "perhaps the most significant message sent to Washington" in the eight years of his mission; unfortunately, the text of this dispatch is not given even in paraphrase. From remarks then and later we are led to understand he henceforth accepted the policy of "inexorably" matching every forward move of Japan's by a counter-move—say, a loan to China. This game, of course, had the drawback of leaving the initiative to Japan, along with the additional hazard that one soon ran out of effective counter-moves except the most extreme. From the end of 1940 restrictions were progressively applied on trade with Japan, and full sanctions were imposed on July 25, 1941. In retrospect there seems to have been a fated irony in the timing of this shift in American policy. What could have been in the mid-thirties a positive and successful program of restraint and war prevention, jointly enforced by Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union, had been transformed by 1940-41, after the collapse of France and the German attack on Russia, into desperate and risky measures which the United States had to sustain largely by its own strength alone.

The result was an initial military-naval disaster of grave proportions. Never was psychological unpreparedness for a blow so complete. The people did not have the benefit of Ambassador Grew's secret memoranda warning that an attack might come unexpectedly. When the Cabinet tried to remedy this situation, it was too late. Speeches delivered by Knox and Welles toward the middle of November largely failed to register, although they were framed in alarmist terms. Partly this was due, too, to the fact that the game played with Japan since the end of 1940 had been almost solely an executive matter, carried through by a succession of orders which attracted little public notice. A genuinely popular embargo movement had existed earlier, but Secretary Hull had deflated the movement in July, 1939, by abrogating the trade treaty with Japan and then postponing action for more than a year. The cards were not all on the table, and the people lost interest. In its way this is a warning, too.

It is advisable to note that pitfalls also lie ahead in the

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peace that has to be made with Japan. The court circle and the business leaders, making up the "moderates" with whom Ambassador Grew had his main contacts, do not provide the safest foundation on which to build post-war hopes. They are not pillars of democracy; if they are taken for such, the end will be disillusionment. They are much more closely allied to the militarists, whom we are asked to concentrate on eliminating, than to the people as a whole. Expediency will be urged in favor of accepting a group of "moderates" under a "chastened" Emperor as the new government of Japan. It won't work, not for the long pull. Sooner or later, and probably sooner, the militarists will be right back again, working with their accustomed and familiar colleagues. Only a grass-roots movement, organized and led by true representatives of the people, can set up a really democratic government in Japan and make it stick. This is what the American people have to demand and fight for in the peace. It is the only final guaranty that they will not have to fight another war in the Pacific.

T. A. BISSON

Housing in America

AMERICAN HOUSING: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS. The Factual Findings by Miles L. Colean. The Program by the Housing Committee. Twentieth Century Fund. $3.

ONE of the war's unexpected by-products has been the highlighting by the warring nations of their post-war housing plans. Housing has become a useful weapon on the psychological front. British military and civilian morale has often been bolstered by specific proposals for rebuilding Britain's cities. The replanning of Moscow and of Russia's other war-torn cities has been a great inspirational force in Russian hearts.

While the state of our own housing has never been underemphasized, few major issues have had less hard-boiled discussion; when a concrete program to rebuild our cities could provide a much-needed feeling of social creation in the trying days that may follow the war, we have chosen to do nothing. Instead of programs, long tomes, such as the twelve-volume report of President Hoover's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership or the thousands of pages of the TNEC testimony on the construction industry, outline the woeful inadequacies of our home-building enterprise only to channel off into a few indictments, a handful of generalizations, or a promising preamble in a useless piece of "remedial" legislation.

"American Housing," the new inquiry into its problems and prospects which the Twentieth Century Fund has just issued, is another brave pilgrimage into the boggy wilderness that is American housing. The study, for which Miles Colean prepared the factual findings and a committee of respectable economists ventured the "solutions," lists all the familiar ailments—the picayuneness of building enterprises, the unsoundness of the tax structure and mortgage financing, the problems of land assemblage and housing distribution, the planless intercession of the federal government as adviser, insurer, building venturer, landlord, prosecutor, and benefactor. The findings represent as complete a summary

"This book is a ring-tailed wonder...

a Salt River Roarer, a Mississippi Screamer. In parts it's sweeter than wild strawberries in June, cool as spring water after mint. In other parts it's mean as a western bad-man full of red dog liquor and rattle-snake juice."

—STERLING NORTH

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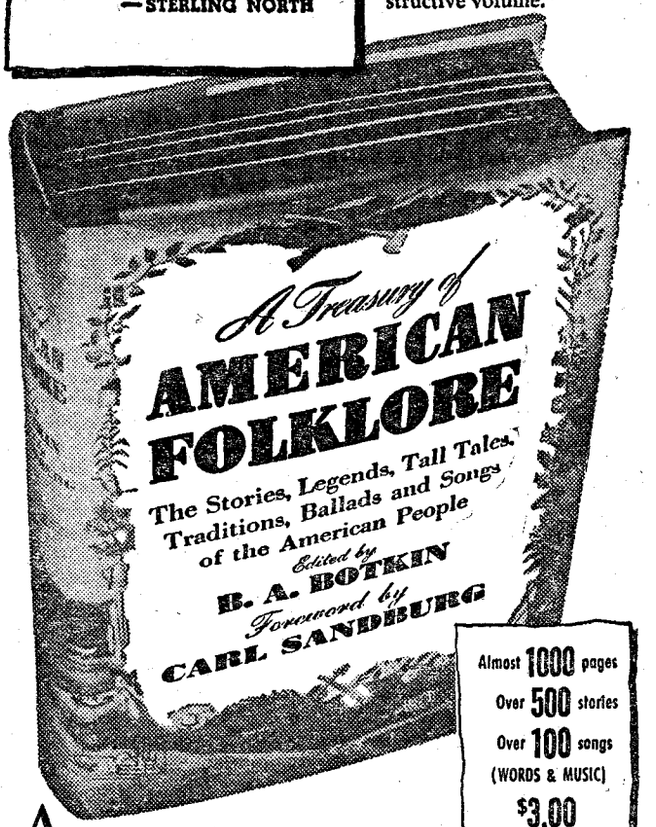

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of the deficiencies in home building as has yet been written. Colleges will find it a useful text for their housing students. The supporting material in the tables and charts particularly will be helpful to those digging into the many-sided phases of housing. Its authors will never be accused of having succumbed to the excessive emotion to which so many others have had to yield when tackling the problem. They have carefully repressed the temptation to reckless exhortation, and have produced a sober study of a sobering problem.

In a field in which viewpoints differ so widely, there will naturally be disagreement with some of the findings. It may be seriously questioned that the hope of continued speculative price increment is still "largely responsible" for the paucity of building sites. Unimproved land represents no more than 5 per cent of total home cost, and in developed areas it is more often the income of old houses rather than the hope of land increment that keeps prices up. The examination of the FHA insurance system is kindly. No adequate criticism is made of its vicious Title VI practices, which have forced many transient war workers into ownership, or of the peculiarly high interest rates on these government-insured loans, which only preferred institutions may make.

After an austere survey of housing liabilities, fortified with as depressing a set of facts and figures as ever beset a vital phase of our economy, the recommendations fade off into vague and carefully guarded generalizations. The program limits itself to a plea for more rigid enforcement of the anti-trust laws, the revision of building codes, the promotion of more research and greater efficiency, better land utilization, more aid to equity investments, and similar reforms. Some of these suggestions are new though they only scratch the surface; others have often been shuttled back and forth among housing reformers.

One of the major faults of the book is that it misses the opportunity to relate the deficiencies in the housing enterprise to the over-all economic patterns of which housing has become an inextricable part. Housing is more than houses, and it is seeing half the problem to see it only from the standpoint of brick and mortar, mortgages, slum elimination, foreclosure, prefabrication, and stabilization of city patterns. The housing problem has become involved with too many other phases of our economy to be any longer viewed in isolation.

CHARLES ABRAMS

Palestine Transformed

PALESTINE, LAND OF PROMISE. By Walter Clay Lowdermilk. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

THIS is a very unusual book, written by a man who unites scientific competence with historical perspective. Dr. Lowdermilk has had a long and distinguished career as forestry engineer, hydrologist, geophysicist, and soil conservationist. As assistant chief of the Soil Conservation Service of this country, he has had unusual opportunities to familiarize himself with the situation here as well as with the best available means for improving it. Five years as research professor of forestry at the University of Nanking, followed by more recent journeys, have given him an almost equal grasp of Asiatic problems in the domain of his specialties. In 1938 and 1939 he was sent by the Department of Agriculture to Europe and the Near East in order to study denudation and conservation of soil in these regions. The present book is the outgrowth of his observations on that journey.

During the past quarter-century Jewish enterprise and skill, powerfully reinforced by generous contributions from the Jewish communities of Europe and especially of the United States, have reclaimed extensive tracts of sand dunes and marshland, of worn-out grain fields and bare limestone hills. Year by year the productivity of the land has been increased by scientific methods of agriculture and animal breeding. With the aid of photographs and descriptions, confirmed by statistical tables, the author paints a vivid picture of the transformation of the sections of western Palestine settled by Zionist action during the past two generations—mostly during the past twenty years. The reviewer, having been in Palestine from 1919 to 1935 engaged in archaeological research, can testify that the picture is true. In fact, he would be inclined to stress certain aspects of the transformation even more strongly than Dr. Lowdermilk does.

Dr. Lowdermilk consulted archaeologists wherever possible, traveling with them over the country and comparing the ancient state of the land with its modern condition. He repeatedly acknowledges his obligation to Nelson Glueck, the brilliant director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. To the specialist this collaboration seems very fortunate, since it has saved the author from many serious mistakes in dealing with the historical past of Palestine. For example, he rejects the fantasies of Ellsworth Huntington with regard to the predetermining influence of climate on man and the decisive part played by alleged cycles of rainfall on human history. These ideas are rejected by every competent archaeologist because they run squarely against archaeological data wherever Huntington gives concrete evidence in support of his conclusions. Since, however, they have enjoyed wide vogue among certain circles of geographers and sociologists, Lowdermilk's attitude is very significant. The reviewer's only criticism here is that the author has not gone far enough, and that further collaboration with archaeologists and Mediterranean geographers would eliminate a number of weaknesses in dealing with his material. For instance, the explorations of Nelson Glueck have proved that the historical occupation of Transjordan was intermittent, not relatively continuous as the author suggests. The Byzantine towns of the southern desert of Palestine were occupied successively rather than simultaneously, as has now been demonstrated by H. Dunscombe Colt's excavations in several of them. Lack of acquaintance with recent French geographical literature has kept Dr. Lowdermilk from understanding the true function of the stone heaps described by him as water collectors—through precipitation of atmospheric moisture—as well as from realizing the existence and importance of the tunnel wells (Arabic *fuqara*), recently rediscovered by Nelson Glueck in the Jordan valley.

A considerable part of the book is devoted to an impressive argument for a "Jordan Valley Authority," comparable to our own TVA. There can be no doubt that there is a wonderful opportunity for such a development, which would utilize the Jordan cleft for a vast hydroelectric and irrigation project. Whether it can be brought about is certainly

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more dependent on international politics than on intrinsic engineering factors. What chance have practical idealism and engineering enterprise when faced with industrial imperialism and misguided nationalism?

Dr. Lowdermilk's political approach is frankly Zionist. The reviewer is very much afraid that the "Jordan Valley Authority" will not see fulfilment until political rivalries have been replaced by friendly economic competition. As long as politics dominate the scene, we cannot hope that the non-political interests of either Arabs or Jews will receive the attention they imperatively need. Will it be possible for the nomad and the farmer, the peasant and the factory worker, the Arab and the Jew really to cooperate in carrying out this splendid program? If not, so much the worse for the Near East, whose future development depends so largely on its peaceful adoption of modern Western technique and practical humanitarianism.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

De Profundis

THE BOTTOMLESS PIT (DER BRUNNEN DES ABGRUNDS). By Gustav Regler. With Five Drawings by Marie Louise Vogeler-Regler. La Nacional Impresora S. A., Mexico City. Private Printing.

THE events in which Gustav Regler took part compelled him and all others involved to choose in the end between betraying and being betrayed. Regler chose the latter course and could not help doing so. He has paid for it with everything short of his life. Still believing in socialism and the brotherhood of man, he has come to distrust passionately every method proposed for their realization; and his disillusionment with methods and means—with reason itself, it almost seems—causes his anguish. It is not defeat at the hands of the enemy but betrayal by friends that compromises beliefs.

These poems of Regler's—written in free strophes and seeking objective equivalents for an emotion which without the check-rein of art would become hysteria—are his testament for the time being. They have a flavor of Young German romanticism, Jean Paul Richter's: yearning, pessimistic, exuberant in their visionary quality, embittered in their content, disregarding the laws of space but forced to obey those of time by the inability of the mind in which they originate and of their medium to exist in any other dimension. One hesitates to remonstrate with a man like Regler; yet one cannot help asking that he give us something more positive. If the present slogan, as Regler says, is "Workers of the world, distrust one another," it is up to reason to substitute a better one. And it is up to the Reglers, who know most about the workers in their heroic moments, to translate that experience into thought, which is viable, as well as into emotion, which is viable only in art, and therefore too uncertain.

The German of Regler's poetry is accompanied by a parallel translation into English and by five very interesting drawings by Marie Louise Vogeler-Regler. It is to be hoped that more of Regler's writing will be published—in this country as well as in Mexico.

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Peace Beyond Our Time

HOW TO THINK ABOUT WAR AND PEACE. By Mortimer J. Adler. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

MR. ADLER seems to think that he has arrived at a rather novel and revolutionary conclusion about war and peace, which he feels under compulsion to defend against certain blind guides who are, in his opinion, promising our generation peace through inadequate instruments. According to Mr. Adler, neither treaties nor alliances can guarantee real peace. This can only be done by world government. Treaties and alliances which do not bring the nations under one world government cannot guarantee peace, for "anarchy and sovereignty are inseparable." He believes that a "society or community cannot normally exist without government" and that therefore a world community cannot exist without world government.

There is a slight note of pretentiousness in defending this thesis so rigorously against his supposed critics, for Mr. Adler has no hope that world government can be easily achieved. In the hundreds of years which must elapse between the present and the final achievement of world government he is ready to use the best possible makeshifts in order to stem the tide of world anarchy; he could therefore have a quarrel only with those proponents of leagues, federations, and alliances who promise lasting and perpetual peace upon the basis of such alliances. If there are optimists who promise as much as that, some of us have not heard of them.

Mr. Adler is no simple utopian, though there is a final utopian note in his analysis. He declares: "The issue between pessimists and optimists can be resolved. The resolution turns on two predictions: first, that a lasting peace will be made but not in our time; and, therefore, that we can expect more wars, even world wars, in the interim." If such a resolution of the conflict between pessimism and optimism has any value, let us accept it, though some of us might have difficulty in accepting the guaranty of a "lasting" peace, if the word "lasting" is pressed. Mr. Adler does press it. In another connection he declares "once existent, world peace can be perfected. From being universal it can be made perpetual." Is not this a rather large promise, particularly in view of the fact that there is no national community, however perfect its instruments of justice, which could boast of an absolute guaranty against the peril of a future civil war?

This final utopian note in Mr. Adler's otherwise sober analysis of political realities is not an accident. It is derived from his too purely political interpretation of society. His thesis is that communities which stand under a single sovereignty can have peace, while those which have several sovereignties are bound to become involved in war. He regards government as the sole agent of unity in a community. It is in fact only the final agent. Mr. Adler says quite truly that "men must be morally and intellectually ready for political institutions but only to some degree. Once institutions exist, they will condition the whole social environment and produce further intellectual and moral changes favorable to their own operation." This is an important insight to be urged against moralists who believe that perfect moral cohesion must precede political integration. The actual fact is that there must be authority and power to organize a community precisely because the moral oneness of a community is never complete enough to provide for an uncoerced peace.

But in the development of the national community Mr. Adler underestimates factors which are neither political nor moral and intellectual. National communities gain part of their unity from geographic limitation. Some of it comes from ethnic homogeneity and a common language. Some of it is derived from the collective self-consciousness which develops in the pursuit of a common task, particularly the task of avoiding a common, concrete peril. The concreteness of the peril must be emphasized, for the peril of anarchy in the abstract does not create unity in a community as easily as the peril of an actual foe standing at the borders.

The underestimation of all these non-political but also non-rational factors in the development of limited communities persuades Mr. Adler that the international community can be created rather easily by the power of an international state. He would deny that he regards the task as an easy one, because he thinks centuries will be required to achieve it. Yet it is for him an essentially easy task. He believes that once men have discovered that nothing less than a world government will give them world peace, they will proceed to establish it. The non-rational and non-political factors of unity in national communities are consistently underestimated by Mr. Adler for the purpose of proving that the world community requires little more than a single sovereignty. The real fact is that national communities do usually have a common language, a fact which is not negated by pointing to Switzerland; and they do have a core of ethnic homogeneity, a fact which is not negated by a peripheral heterogeneity in many of them. If they do not have ethnic unity they may fall apart as Czechoslovakia did under German pressure. They also usually have a common culture and religion. At least the religious differences must not be too marked. If they are marked, the national community faces the peril of disruption which India faces in the Hindu-Moslem controversy. The state may be the head of a community, and it may be correct to insist that a single community must have a single head. But it is wrong to suggest that the head can create the body.

Mr. Adler's thoughts about war and peace are, in short, despite their soberness, not sober and circumspect enough. When he deals with the moral and cultural impediments to world community he finally relies, despite himself, not upon the power of the international state but upon an educational and moral process which will mitigate the force of present antagonisms. "I am not saying," he declares, "that cultural and racial differences do not present obstacles to world peace. They do indeed, but only through the intervention of such moral factors as race prejudice and cultural antipathy." "The moral obstacles are genuinely surmountable by education and by enlargements of experience." Of course they are. But it is rather simple to distinguish so nicely between the natural fact of race distinction and the moral fact of race prejudice. For it is the character of human history to build spiritual and moral facts, both good and evil, upon the natural facts. Men never express a simple survival impulse, either individually or collectively, as animals do. The survival impulse is transmuted into pride and the will-to-power. Hence

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these evils and make the inordinate desires of men more moderate. But there is no more possibility of guaranteeing race prejudice. We know that moral discipline may mitigate, that any educational process will finally tame, all inordinate passions and desires of men than that a government, strong enough to check these desires and to arbitrate in conflict between conflicting collective desires, can be formed.

About the necessity of world community and world government Mr. Adler speaks eloquently and persuasively. A technical civilization has given us a potential world community. But a potential world community, which has no instruments to manage the vast interdependence which modern techniques have created, becomes in fact an insufferable anarchy. This is clear enough, though it is well to have the fact presented as cogently as Mr. Adler does. But what is necessary is not as simply possible as Mr. Adler believes.

It may be observed in conclusion that Mr. Adler does not address himself to one important problem at all; and that is how the transfer from national to international sovereignty is to be made. In this respect he shares a weakness with those who would be satisfied with something less than a world state and settle for a world federation. In all these theories a social-contract theory of government is assumed. Mr. Adler seems to think that when mankind has been persuaded that lesser strategies do not avail, it will resolve by a supreme act of the will to create a world state. It will do on an international scale what Thomas Hobbes thought was done in the formation of national states. But the fact is that neither national nor international states, neither national nor international communities, have ever been formed like that. All communities and states have grown through gradual coalescences of smaller communities and gradual elaborations of the instruments of government. If that fact is fully comprehended we shall be less impatient with the makeshifts of international order, which promise no more than "peace in our time." They may fail. They may fail a dozen times. But if a world community is ever formed it will be built upon the success, and not the failure, of one of these makeshifts.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Development of Alaska

ALASKA AND THE CANADIAN NORTHWEST: OUR NEW FRONTIER. By Harold Griffin. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.75.

FAR NORTH COUNTRY. By Thames Williamson. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.

IN COMBINATION, the Alaska Highway and the Canol project constitute by far the biggest construction program in the world's history from the standpoint of area covered and time of accomplishment. The Alaska Highway was holed through as a pioneer road in November, 1942, and finished as an all-weather artery in October, 1943. Canol officially wound up with the dedication of a refinery at Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, on April 30, 1944, which meant that crude oil pumped through a pipe line from Norman Wells on the Mackenzie River was now being turned into gasoline to fuel the Alaska Highway and its airfields.

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The public still knows little about the Alaska Highway, much less about the Canol project.

Harold Griffin has produced the first book giving a cogent account of both the Alaska Highway and the Canol project. It is absorbingly written and reasonably reliable. A mixture of interviews, personal anecdotes, and essays, it is patently the hastily assembled report of a painstaking journalist who wanted to strike while the iron was hot after a junket through the Northwest in 1943, backed up by a trip ten years earlier, when he acquired a lasting interest in the country.

"Far North Country," on the other hand, is a pretentious though whimsically presented history of Alaska by a man who appears to regard himself as an authority on the subject. (He makes just as many factual mistakes as Mr. Griffin does.) The book is also a framework supporting diverse personal views and prejudices of the author, some of which are rather remotely related to Alaska, if at all. Thames Williamson tells more about Alaska's past than Harold Griffin does, much less about its present; but their ideas regarding its future are uniformly enthusiastic.

Mr. Williamson's eyewitness descriptions of Alaska go back more than thirty years. He seems to have visited it since, but he deals with recent developments as if he were inspired only by newspaper stories. In some sections his writing is straightforward and interesting, in others it is incorrect, supercilious, and maundering. Incidentally, he often speaks of places and events in the Yukon Territory as well as in Alaska, but he makes no distinction: to him it is all Alaska.

Mr. Griffin's account of the building of the Alaska Highway is fairly accurate. His account of the building of Canol is not so accurate, but that is forgivable because much of his information was picked up from Canol workers, most of whom at the time of his visit were ill informed themselves, Canol being then a restricted project. However, his summing up of Canol as well as of the Alaska Highway and Northern matters in general is sound and farsighted and well worth reading.

It is amusing to compare the attitudes of the two authors toward Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Mr. Williamson brings in the great Arctic explorer and scholar only to insult him, while Mr. Griffin pays just tribute to him as a prime exponent and prophet of the Northern progress over which Messrs. Griffin and Williamson both rhapsodize.

Mr. Griffin concludes: "The Alaska Highway and the Canol project have been built. Now they must be used to build the country. . . . I believe that the American people have never made a better investment for the future than in the Alaska Highway. Here, in our own Northwest, we have created the physical means of realizing international cooperation, both in achieving victory and constructing the postwar world."

RICHARD FINNIE

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IN BRIEF

NUSANTARA. A History of the East Indian Archipelago. By Bernard H. M. Vlekke. Harvard University Press. $5.

Dr. Vlekke, formerly general secretary of the Netherlands Institute in Rome, has provided a very readable as well as authoritative and learned history of the East Indies for English readers. It is particularly valuable for its full documentation from Dutch sources, but it does not neglect the English writings and thus provides a really balanced view. Beginning with the geographical background, and the dawn of history as traced by the anthropologists, the author follows the development of the islands from the Hindu-Indonesian period to the fall of Bandung in March, 1942. The volume is admirably illustrated and contains enlightening maps.

SOCIETY AND NATURE. A Sociological Inquiry. By Hans Kelsen. University of Chicago Press. $4.

On the basis of much ethnological material Mr. Kelsen explains that the distinction between society and nature is known only to civilized man, not to primitive man. The former conceives nature as a system of elements connected with one another according to the principle of causality; for the latter "nature" is an intrinsic part of his society, interpreted according to social norms, especially according to the *lex taliones,* the norm of retribution. In sharp contrast to that conception, modern science, endeavoring to overcome dualism and to establish a monistic view of the world, tries to conceive of society as part of nature and not nature as part of society. But "no essential difference between natural and social laws, that is, between the laws determining nature, and the laws determining society, exists as soon as the natural law itself relinquishes its claim to absolute necessity and satisfies itself with being an assertion of statistical probability."

FILMS

IF AN automatic movie camera could have been set up in the Roman Forum on no matter what day two thousand years ago, every foot of it would have for us a special quality of wonder. I feel that sort of wonder in watching the March of Time's "Underground Report." Made up mainly of captured film, it gives the fullest image of occupied Europe I have seen, and gives us, above all, an image of a world, a phase, which we shall never see by any other means, since it will be wholly altered by the mere presence of our fighters, camera men, and observers, once they get there. One might discuss the film in detail and at length, for the moral and psychological charge of many of these shots is complex, and a surprising number of the single shots are magnificent. But I will merely recommend "Underground Report," very highly, to anyone who would like to be walking in the cities of Europe, invisibly, today.

I didn't see "The Eve of St. Mark" on the stage. As a film, though it is smooth, careful, and full of decent intentions, it depresses me. It has a good deal of that flavor of corn syrup which becomes continually more official in honest, homely celebrations of our local way of living; what bothers me quite as much is its equally characteristic passion for eating its cake and having it. The sufferings of war-time love and the difficulties of celibacy are conveyed in gentle glimmers by the drafted hero (William Eythe) and his sweetheart (Anne Baxter), but never frankly or painfully enough to trouble the audience. In the same way, later, a choice between honorable withdrawal from a hopeless military predicament and a still more honorable, useful death is "faced" and as promptly about-faced. There is no mention of other soldiers whose lives the deaths of these soldiers may save; the men do discuss, rather bitterly, whether their country and its future, judging by past and present performance, are worth dying for. When one of them insists that the purpose of this war is to guarantee an end of poverty everywhere, they all choose to stay and die—only to have that necessity removed by the demolition of their gun. This sort of half-honesty, which so comfortably spikes every possible charge of dishonesty, can be very deceitful; I'm not sure but what it is worse than none at all.

I never read "Mr. Skeffington," by "Elizabeth," either. Judging by the film, I can't have missed much. It is another of those pictures in which Bette Davis demonstrates the horrors of egocentricity on a marathonic scale; it takes her just short of thirty years' living and two and a half hours' playing time to learn, from her patient husband (Claude Rains), that "a woman is beautiful only when she is loved" and to prove this to an audience which, I fear, will be made up mainly of unloved and not easily lovable women. Miss Davis, Director Vincent Sherman, and several others put a great deal of hard work and some that is good into this show, and there are some expert bits of middle-teens and 1920's New York atmosphere. But essentially "Mr. Skeffington" is just a super soap opera, or an endless woman's-page meditation on What to Do When Beauty Fades. The implied advice is dismaying: hang on to your husband, who alone will stand by you then, and count yourself blessed if, like Mr. Rains in his old age, he is blinded.

JAMES AGEE

MUSIC

KOUSSEVITZKY—when there is an occasion for him to talk about music—has a way of hurling big words and ideas around, with much destruction of intellectual crockery. One such occasion was his recent *Life* article on American composers. Explaining what he meant by American music he observed that "musical art is an expression of life and nature . . . its manifestation in each country is in accordance not only with that country's spiritual riches but also with its natural riches—its mountains, its rivers, its fertile land"—in our case the Mississippi, for example. It was not surprising therefore to learn that while "there is probably not a single living musician who understands Einstein's fourth dimension, yet the discovery that a fourth dimension could exist has powerfully stimulated musical artists' imaginations, broadened their artistic horizons, and deepened their inspiration"—indeed that it has made a difference in Koussevitzky's own performances. And "the composer of today reveals in us different emotions than the composer of yesterday. . . . We don't always understand exactly what are our own emotions. . . . Beethoven had difficulties with some people who did not understand that he was expressing their emotions." That is something Beethoven himself did not understand, I suspect.

I suspect also that the facts of some of the incidents Koussevitzky described in his account of his patronage of

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American composers would not recognize themselves in the stories as he now recalls and tells them. He has, he says, had to battle for the American composer with the public and the critics; and when he has considered a work worth playing and they have not, he of course has been right and has continued to play it until they were convinced. His example is Copland's "Music for the Theater," which he says was a complete failure at its first New York performance, and which he therefore repeated a month later, with the result that each critic now liked a different part, and which "today . . . is in the standard repertoire of every major orchestra in the United States." But I heard that first performance (at a concert of the League of Composers or some other such group); and my recollection is that the audience responded to the piece as warmly as it deserved, as did the Carnegie Hall audience a month later. On the other hand I heard people in the audience express their dislike of the "Ode" which Copland wrote for the Boston Symphony several years later; and they were right, and would not, I am sure, have changed their opinion if Koussevitzky had repeated the work—just as the people who have disliked the works of Harris and Schuman have been right and have, I am sure, continued to dislike them in the face of Koussevitzky's persistence.

In 1924, he says, when he began his work with the Boston Symphony, "American creative music was barely alive"; and he revived it by playing the works of American composers and in this way getting them to write. American music was barely alive when another conductor played a new work of Hadley or Hanson; it began to revive when Koussevitzky played a new work of Edward Burlingame Hill. The truth is that other conductors have offered American composers the same kind of encouragement, and that if Koussevitzky hadn't played the music of Copland, Harris, and Schuman it would not have gone unperformed and uncomposed. And it is amusing to watch him, in some of his stories, by-pass what others did.

Thus he tells that during his first months in America he met Gershwin. "He had already composed the 'Rhapsody in Blue,' I went to the première given by Paul Whiteman. . . . Although then he lacked great technical knowledge, Gershwin . . . brought a new idea in the expression of music. He showed the whole gaiety and gusto of American life. I confess that I did not then think the 'Rhapsody in Blue' suitable for concert performance by a great symphony orchestra. I was wrong. Later I became aware of this and asked Gershwin to compose a piece for the Boston Symphony. He wrote the 'Second Rhapsody.' . . . The rhapsodies . . . were proof that there would be a real American music." One would suppose from this that after "Rhapsody in Blue" Gershwin's next step as an American composer, taken at the instigation of Koussevitzky, was "Second Rhapsody"; one would never suspect that there were intervening steps instigated by someone else.

As a matter of fact Koussevitzky, who took over the Boston Symphony in the fall of 1924, could not have heard the première of "Rhapsody in Blue," which occurred in February of that year. The conductor who did attend that first Whiteman concert in Aeolian Hall was Damrosch, who after each number managed to get his "bravo!" out ahead of the applause, and who for the same reason jumped into the driver's seat of the Gershwin-for-American-Composer bandwagon by commissioning Gershwin to write the Piano Concerto in F. This was performed in the season of 1925-26; and Damrosch also conducted the first performance of "An American in Paris" in the season of 1928-29. And it was not until a couple of years later that Koussevitzky performed "Second Rhapsody," which—if I remember correctly—had begun as part of a Gershwin score for a film, when it had had the title "Rhapsody in Rivets," because of its imitations of riveting with which it "expressed" American life.

Koussevitzky evidently shares this idea that was behind Gershwin's career as a serious American composer—that since American life includes jazz and riveting the music which "expresses" this life also had to include them, and that a man who writes superb Broadway show music is therefore the man to write the American symphony and opera. The idea is completely fallacious; and that is what Gershwin's works as a serious American composer proved.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Contrasts in Tennessee

[*We print below excerpts of a letter written by a colored service man, now stationed in Tennessee, to a member of the Lynn Committee to Abolish Segregation in the Armed Forces.*]

Dear ——: This camp is beautiful and well laid out. The barracks are well constructed in white with green roofs. The airplane runways are all paved and well kept. The food is good.

The segregation in the camp is of a pattern with the "legal" segregation in the surrounding territory. You are cowed and brutalized by it. You can just feel your soul growing ugly. To "make good" here, to "adjust" yourself, you have to become abject and servile. You have to crawl like the others. I won't, though.

We are assigned three barracks. The lower floor of one of these is our library, recreation room, canteen, and soda fountain. The library is like a neglected stable, the recreation room an ill-kept barn, the canteen store like a country store, the soda fountain worse than a slum side-street candy store—all this amid elegant services for the whites. In the camp theater we are segregated in the back. I went once. Don't intend going back. We are not allowed on the navy buses. We pay twenty-five cents to go and twenty-five cents to return on buses operated by a private company. The white boys ride navy buses free. The white boys are allowed visitors; we are not. Some of the Negro USO leaders in Memphis are supposed to be doing something about that.

I went in to Memphis on liberty last Tuesday. The horror of it is still with me. My dear fellow, the Negro here is worse off than any Jew in Germany or any untouchable in India. No white person speaks to a Negro in public—I mean on the bus or trolley or street. The faces of the white people horrify you with their "apartness" and grimness. The Negroes are contemptible—servile, grinning, packed in the back of the buses, myself along with them of course. I saw the famous Beale Street, a dilapidated trickle of filth across the face of the earth. The density of syphilis among the Negro population of Memphis is 85 per cent. They look it. Being with sailors I of course went to the clubs and saloons and bars and so forth. The people there were so tawdry and falsely glittering in their "glad rags" and so loudly and boisterously happy that I became literally ill.

A friend had given me the telephone number of his home. I phoned and went out there. It's on the north side of Memphis in a suburban neighborhood referred to by southsiders as "the country." This family was a composite of what the strength of the Negro and the human race is. A humble family—mother, father, and four children—in a humble home which they owned, something between a cabin and a cottage. That home held many fascinating contradictions. Of the four children, one boy is in the navy, one daughter is at Clark Theological Seminary in Atlanta, a boy and a girl are in high school. The father works as a janitor for a white church, and the mother is a cook in service for a white family. Yet here is a home, you can feel it's a home, with children being educated, an electric refrigerator in the kitchen, chickens and a hog in the backyard, and a lovely cabinet radio, all from the earnings of two semi-illiterate parents. The father is a handkerchief-head. The crook in his back would pain you. The mother looks up and there is no fear in her eyes. These Negro mothers are the greatest mothers ever, I sometimes think. But along with this, white leghorn chickens in a coop in the corner of the kitchen making a fearful noise, the junky coal stove, the accumulated clatter of striving poverty through the years. I loved these people. PRIVATE

Memphis, May 8

Mr. Agee's Good Word

Dear Sirs: Inasmuch as I was one of those who used to write you in the interest of movie criticisms, I feel that now I should commend your film colmun.

Mr. Agee is splendid when one gets accustomed to his intensive style of writing, and I hope you will keep him coming along week after week. Movie criticisms are important to people who live outside New York, as important as drama criticisms are academic. It's too much trouble and expense to go to all the movies blindly in the hope of running across a good one now and then. I have recently seen two good pictures—"The Lodger" and "The Miracle of Morgan's Creek"—that I would probably not have seen but for Mr. Agee's good word. Where else is one going to find out? As nearly as I can remember, the local newspaper described "The Miracle of Morgan's Creek" as "a picture about soldiers and their sweethearts which presents a strong case against hasty marriages to men in uniform." Not much help there, would you say?

Thanks for Mr. Agee, however it is pronounced.

FREDERICK THOMPSON

Rochester, N. Y., May 15

"International Affairs"

Dear Sirs: Owing to the war, *International Affairs,* the quarterly journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, has been suspended during the past four years, but arrangements have been made by the Council of Chatham House with the University of Toronto Press to have *International Affairs* printed in Canada as of January, 1944.

International Affairs is the only British periodical devoted exclusively to current international questions and problems of reconstruction. We believe that you may wish to call the journal to the attention of your readers because it is a valuable source of information on the research and discussion related to post-war problems that is being carried on in Great Britain today.

MARIE LOUISE TWADDELL,
New York Publications Secretary

New York, April 24

CONTRIBUTORS

BOGDAN RADITSA was formerly press chief of the Yugoslav government in exile.

RICHARD ROVERE, former assistant editor of *The Nation* and managing editor of *Common Sense,* has recently had articles in *Harper's* on Thomas E. Dewey and Vito Marcantonio.

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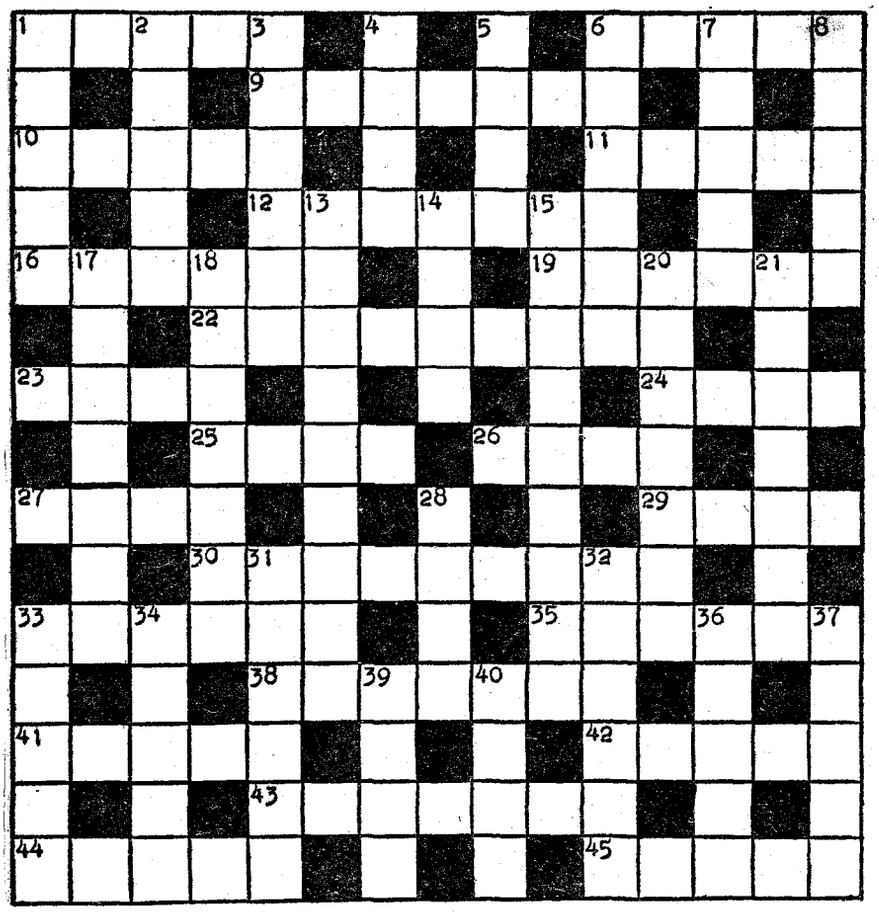
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 66

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Some like to be given one, others are scared
6 Horse-pistols?
9 Russian gardening tool? No, a Walter Scott novel
10 It won't be one here!
11 Black and blue
12 Military magazine which is never read
16 Am dope (for the hair)
19 Defective
22 Choosy people
23 This name for an old cabby sounds like a remark he might address to his horse
24 Sweet are the ---- of advertisement
25 "So ---- is grandeur to our dust, So near is God to man" (Emerson)
26 Rent from the eye
27 Not brand new
29 European who ought to be good at jumping?
30 A neat rogue appears among the followers
33 Villain in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*
35 The police have difficulty getting anything on *him*
38 Mounts up
41 Bewildering old bowl
42 "O, rest perturbed . . ." in the shop!
43 Good—please copy
44 Acted as a partisan
45 Could hardly be called a light opera

DOWN

1 He seems to have had a brush up more often than a wash
2 Shrunken patriarch
3 A long vehement speech. Read it!
4 They have nine lives and nine tails
5 Chinese detective of fiction
6 The last room in which one would expect to find a caller!
7 No bumps here, back or forth
8 How the English are said to take their pleasures
13 "Let's agree!" (anag.)
14 The end of a wretch
15 In advance—and such a drive may be seen on the tennis court
17 The bishop's place, and the foreman's to
18 Apart, as below
20 Pursued (anag.)
21 It might have been made for ramblers
28 Refrain from the old sea-god
31 Came closer and gave Ned an ear
32 This part of a dress always gets us!
33 "Who then to frail mortality shall trust But ----- on water, or but writes in dust" (Bacon)
34 "And still they -----, and still the wonder grew That one small head could carry all he knew" (Goldsmith)
36 Something the laundress does
37 Thanks to an article the Greek letter is made clear
39 It sounds a fishy thing to do
40 Japanese in reduced circumstances

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 65

ACROSS:—1 SHINY TROUSERS; 10 FAIRIES; 11 POLYGON; 12 TREFOIL; 13 SPILLER; 14 EAST END; 15 SERIALS; 16 ELEGANT; 20 DEADMEN; 23 PREFACE; 24 BELINDA; 25 NIAGARA; 26 TARHEEL; 27 SENSELESSNESS.

DOWN:—2 HEIRESS; 3 NOISOME; 4 TUSSLED; 5 OPPOSES; 6 SOLDIER; 7 REGALIA; 8 OFF THE DEEP END; 9 UNPRESENTABLE; 17 ELEVATE; 18 ATABALS; 19 THE MALL; 20 DEBATES; 21 AILERON; 22 MINTERS.

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